

MOTHER AMERICA

REALITIES OF AMERICAN LIFE
AS SEEN BY AN INDIAN

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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Published by

M. S. BHATT • RAOPUR • BARODA • INDIA

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1st August 1934

Sole Agents -

PUSTAKALAYA SAHAYAK SAHAKARI MANDAL LTD.

RAOPURA, BARODA (INDIA)

Rs. 5

Nh. 8/6

\$ 2

PRINTED IN INDIA BY K C SHAH AT
THE LAXMI PRINTING PRESS
SURSAGAR • BARODA.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Name of Dr. Sudhindra Bose, the author of this book, is too well known to the intelligent reader of our country to need any introduction. His work in America for our cause, his contributions to the *Modern Review*, as well as his other very useful books have earned for him the nationwide reputation as our ambassador in America.

This book, as the name may suggest, is **Not** a rejoinder to the production of Miss Mayo who found nothing better for herself than to snoop about the latrines and sewage canals of this country. She drew her observations (and her inspiration as well) from the lowest strata of our vast continent. The time at her disposal was also as short as could be allowed by her financiers who supported her adventure, and hence the superfluous, distorted and quaint picture of 'MOTHER INDIA.' One cannot understand a country merely during a flying visit to it, much less a vast continent like India !

On the pages of 'MOTHER AMERICA' are recorded the observations and reflections made by a sympathetic critic during his long stay in America and among the Americans. The author has tried to understand the History, the institutions, the struggles and the aspirations of the citizens of the New World. He has ~~put~~ his conclusions so as to inspire and ~~inspire~~ rising generation of our Nation striving towards the Light.

. INTRODUCTION

America, as the United States of America have come to be called, is undergoing the travail of being born. During a period of more than a century and a half the descendants of the early colonists slowly acquired a feeling of distinctly belonging in the new land. England was still the mother country - the home land for the great majority of the inhabitants of the colonies even in 1776. Separation from England was opposed by many, perhaps a majority of those in the professional classes. The final decision expressed in the Declaration of Independence was taken with great reluctance and under the influence of an Englishman, Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*, who had landed here only a year before.

The war of the Revolution was not that of a United Country against an oppressor but of thirteen loosely federated States. The years that followed the conclusion of the war were the most trying in the history of the Republic.

The Constitution was written and adopted under the sheer necessity of escaping from anarchy. It did not mean that America had found its soul and that a political "way out" was offered to the weary and distracted peoples. The country stretched along the seaboard, back of it was the wilderness. Communication was slow and difficult. The colonies, ready to take up arms against one another, legislating as sovereign States, were not made one by the marriage covenant.

Within were the seeds of contention and disruption, the existence of slavery. The early years of national life were filled with trouble connected with the Napoleonic Wars. Foreign affairs cloaked the real issue in American life. But from 1820 to the Civil War there was but one question facing the American people. It could not be eluded or escaped. The Declaration of Independence

invoked on every Fourth of July was a challenge, to the institution of slavery which denied it. So long as slavery existed there could be no real Union of "these States." The Civil War ended with the freeing of the slaves. America began anew to realize itself as a united country.

The immigration of the forties and fifties had alarmed many, especially in the North. It was felt that the recent comers who knew nothing of the early struggles for independence and who had been reared under the despotism of the old world could not be assimilated. But the immigration before the Civil War was but the trickling stream that precedes the vast flood. Such a migration of peoples was never seen in the history of the world. Millions on millions poured in from Europe and from every nook and corner of the world. America was called the "melting pot." This figure of speech was inadequate. There never was sufficient heat to fuse the elements. The inflowing hordes kept coming in a seemingly unending stream. The border was pushed back over the Alleghany Mountains, across the vast basin of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and beyond to the Pacific Ocean. The Wilderness was conquered. America awoke at the end of the nineteenth century to the realization that the Frontier was no more.

The fear that America would be overwhelmed increased. It is this fear which explains the passage later of laws curtailing immigration. They were an expression of the belief on the part of many that the culture and traditions, the very life of America would be swallowed up by this monster from beyond the Sea. This fear bred hate. And this hate meant a new separation in the life of America.

The difficulties of the situation were increased by the fact that the late comers were crowded into the cities of the Eastern part of the country. There they were segregated into foreign colonies with little opportunity for contact

with American life. They followed ancient customs. They retained their foreign languages. They were an easy prey for those who wished to exploit them in shop and factory.

The leaders of opinion in America realized that only as America was "the land where hate dies" could it become a real nation. They believed that people from every land could be assimilated. Thus arose the Americanization Movement of the nineties. Under the leadership of Robert Woods of Boston and Jane Addams of Chicago, Social Settlements were opened in our large cities, which provided foreigners contacts with the best life and thought of America.

The task was a terrific one. It has not yet been accomplished. It has been complicated by the situation inherited from the days of slavery. At least one tenth of the population of America are negroes. Race hatred has resulted in many acts of violence which have disgraced American life and denied the essential ideals of democracy. But slowly yet surely the ideals of decency and justice are winning their way. Every year sees fewer lynchings. Slowly the Negro is gaining in education and winning victories in every field of human endeavor.

The excuse for alien government has always been the separation which that government maintains. Divide and rule has been and is the maxim of the imperialist. Even the very struggles through which men seek to find the way to liberty have been used as an evidence of their incompetency for unity. But the achievement of America which has gone forward to a richer, deeper, and more united national life triumphing over even Civil War is a promise of what every other people may do.

Those who are seeking to unite India in one national life may face difficult problems, but certainly no greater ones than has America. Lack of unity has always been put forward as an argument against the possibility of the achievement of national unity. If America has achieved

out of much diverse religious and racial elements a national consciousness and has developed such national life as it has, then surely India with the advantages of an ancient culture and sacred traditions which have survived the shock of foreign invasion after invasion cannot be denied the capacity for unity and the realization of a common national life.

This brief sketch only indicates a few of the many problems that confront those who seek to build out of such a variety of elements a Nation which shall illustrate in all its life the principles of brotherhood, equality and freedom. America is still in the process of being born.

Many visitors from Europe see only a few cities on the Atlantic, or possibly travel by express train to Buffalo, Cleveland, or Chicago. They return to their native lands to write articles and books on America. Americans have been known to make a similar visit to India on the basis of which they have written as though they knew that country. But to know America or any other country one must live in it, sympathize with it, understand its history, know its problems and above all appreciate its ideals. Many books have been written about America by men who have only seen the country from train windows and whose contacts with the people have been limited to the opportunities of the lecture platform and homes of those whose family is pleased with the chance of entertaining a distinguished foreigner. Such visitors do not know America.

These sketches of American life which I have read with a very great interest are written by one who knows America better than many educated people born here. Dr. Bose has had a long residence among us, he has traveled widely east, west, north and south. He has studied and taught in our institutions of higher learning. He has associated with all sorts and conditions of people. He knows our history, our problems and ideals. He is a believer in democracy.

No chapter in this book reveals understanding of the inner life of America better than the one of Prohibition. This was not written after a cursory survey of conditions in New York or a few other cities. It is the result of years of contact with plain people in all parts of the country. If one wishes confirmation of this opinion as to the trustworthiness of Dr. Bose as an observer of American affairs all he needs to do is to note the results of the recent presidential election. Governor Smith of New York, the candidate of the Democratic party, made the modification of the prohibition laws an issue in his campaign. It became the dominant issue in the minds of most of the voters. All other questions were subordinated to this issue. Mr. Hoover who was the Republican candidate stood for the continuance of the prohibition policy and for the enforcement of prohibition laws. Mr. Hoover was elected by the largest majority ever given a presidential candidate.

Dr. Bose has not shut his eyes to the evils in our national life. He sees America and sees it whole. Any country is fortunate in having such an understanding and sympathetic critic.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

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CHAPTER I

INDEPENDENCE DAY

America celebrated its birthday yesterday. That was the grand and glorious Fourth. Streets were ablaze with colours. Doors and windows were gaily decorated with bunting and national emblems. Patriotic meetings were held all over the country. Independence festivities marked the whole day. Rockets, firecrackers, pinwheels and flares contributed their share not a little to the great national holiday.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The American nation is very young — only 150 years old. Just think that less than a century and a half ago the Declaration of Independence was signed ! This immortal document, which was composed by Thomas Jefferson, has been described by some one as a ' kind of war-song '. It is, however, more than that. The Declaration of Independence, because of its political significance as well as its dignified literary expression, is considered one of the most important state papers that has ever been produced by any people. No one, young or old, can read it over today without some sort of patriotic emotion. Let me quote the opening paragraphs from the Declaration which has become a sort of political Bible of the American citizens :

' When in the course of human events it becomes

necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

' We hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

' Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the

patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states.'

The Declaration of Independence was presented for adoption by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. John Hancock, the President of the Congress, was the first to sign the Declaration. He put his signature on it in large letters saying that George III might read his name without spectacles. He also remarked: 'We want all to hang together in this matter.' 'Yes,' replied Benjamin Franklin, 'we must all hang together, or we shall hang separately.'

DIFFICULTIES OF FOUNDING FATHERS

The Declaration of Independence was not an organic law, but an earnest appeal to the natural right of revolution. As one studies American history, he realizes something of the stupendous difficulties which confronted the Founding Fathers of the Republic in its early and dark days. Dr. Weyl in his most penetrating volume, *The New Democracy*, tells us that the 'better classes' of the colonists did not believe at all in the doctrines of the Declaration, especially in its immediate democracy. The upper classes, according to this discriminating critic of the American scene, 'tainted with an interested loyalty to King George, could not abide rebels, petitioners, and 'agitators,' and among the signers were many conservative men who feared 'too much democracy' though they saw the advantage

of issuing a 'platform,' and of hanging together to avoid hanging separately.'

In reality, America of the eighteenth century was only a democracy on paper, 'a shadow democracy'. Of the 'free and equal' men in the Thirteen Colonies, one-sixth were chattel slaves. 'These poor blacks,' to continue the quotation from the same source, 'largely native Americans, were speechless and voteless, were bought and sold, were mortgaged and flogged. Many whites, under the names of redemptioners and indentured slaves, were also limited in their rights, being bound to service and liable to harsh and cruel treatment. A large proportion of adult, white, free males were disfranchised.' It will, therefore, be clearly seen that a very considerable proportion of the colonial population occupied a social and political position which was a hundred times worse than that of our own Indian untouchables.

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER

The fact, however, which I wish to bring out is that the American Revolution was not in the beginning an unanimous affair. Very far from it. Indeed, it was at first only a movement of the 'discontented', 'disloyal' minority. Professor Dodd of the University of Chicago in a recent magazine article points out that of the three million Colonists, quite half of them were 'either opposed to the movement or quite out of heart about it; and the half was becoming two-thirds as the year 1777 advanced and great British armies, the one from New York, the other from Canada, converged upon the better part of the revolutionists near Saratoga.

Washington, doubtless considered solemnly the chance of a disgraceful end in London. Franklin considered himself happy in Paris, where he could escape the noose. To such a plight had the revolutionists come within a year after their hopeful Declaration to all the world !

While the country was in the midst of a terrible life and death struggle, the American Tories—'the vile trash', as the patriots called them—not only had no sympathy for the Revolution, but they went straight against their country, and actually fought on the side of the English. In other words, the Tories of the colonies looked to England, much as the Loyalists of India do today. The American patriots were the Bolsheviks of their time, the bogey of English conservatism. Independence was considered barbarism, and the American revolutionists were painted as savages.

FOREIGN HELP

How did the little scattered Thirteen Colonies with three million heterogeneous inhabitants win the war against eight million Britishers with ships on every sea ? The truth of the matter is that had Americans depended entirely on their own meagre resources and received no outside aid, they would in all probability have been beaten and the Revolution lost.

Congress saw that if America were to defeat England, it must secure help from abroad. Congress therefore turned to the French, who hated the English as the holy Christian hates the devil. Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher-statesman, was sent to France to persuade the King and the people of that country to help America in gaining its independence. France, the

traditional enemy of the 'perfidious Albion' was glad of a chance to come to the aid of the United States.

The French King gave money, and many illustrious French officers served in the American army. French warships and French soldiers came by thousands to fight American battles. After seven years of hard struggle America won its independence; England had bitten the dust and France had its sweet revenge.

America is to day a powerful nation with a population of 110,000,000. America is the richest country on the globe, the creditor of the world. Through bold and courageous efforts of barely a century and a half, the United States has now reached an amazing height of material prosperity. Its future may be even more grand and glorious than its past; but it will never save its soul unless it seeks national and individual tolerance. America came to existence through the aid of the foreigners, and Americans today detest a foreigner.



• • THE CAPITOL •

The meeting place of the Senate House of
Representatives and the Supreme Court.

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CHAPTER II

GEORGE WASHINGTON

This is George Washington's birthday — February twenty-second. It is the day to ponder the character of the man who, more than any one else, made the Republic of the United States possible. He was a soldier and a statesman. In his patriotism there was no alloy of selfishness. As one of the richest men in all America, Washington by espousing a people's Revolution had risked far more than had most of the other leaders. Yet he was among the first at the Continental Congress to pledge his life and fortune to the cause of American independence. Truly is he called the Father of his Country.

America, basking in the sunshine of unprecedented plenty and prosperity, is now apt to forget its early days. When 'George Washington, Esq.' was appointed Commander-in-Chief, he had a nominal army of 17,000 with perhaps not more than 14,000 effective. Unlike most of the English soldiers, the American soldier was not a professional. He was not only untrained, but 'illy clad, badly fed, and worse paid.' Washington had to face the well-disciplined, well-fed English battalions with raw, ragged recruits. Dreadful was their suffering. Hunger was a constant presence. There were too few surgeons and nurses. Epidemics, and

MOT-LEB AMERICA

especially smallpox, wrought havoc in the army. Disease probably killed as many as bullets.

Moreover, transport was poor. Washington needed military engineers to build roads and bridges. The English officers declared that the American army was without engineers who knew the science of war. It is a fact that many of the forts constructed by the American engineers fell easily before the assault of the enemy. No wonder the American army excited the disdain of the English, who jeered at the American soldiers as 'rebels'. But! — he laughs best who laughs last.

SUFFERINGS OF THE PATRIOTS

I never think of the American War of Independence without thinking of the terrible winter of 1777, when Washington took post at Valley Forge, twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. There the American forces suffered fearfully from want of food, clothes, and money. The distresses of these men were great. 'Their route could be traced on the snow by the blood that oozed from their bare, frost-bitten feet.' General Washington wrote to Congress that nearly three thousand of his men were 'barefoot or otherwise naked.'

They had little to eat. 'A part of the army', writes a historian, 'had no bread for three days, and for two days no meat. Hundreds had no beds, and gladly slept on piles of straw. Others had no blankets, and sat up nights before the fire to keep from freezing. Many sickened and died. But in Philadelphia the well-fed British soldiers had a gay season, with balls and banquets.' The story of Washington at Valley Forge

is so full of tragic suffering that it makes one almost shudder.

A lesser man than Washington would have failed at the very outset. He had, however, the essential qualities of a great leader : unselfishness, calm courage, prudence, firmness, and perseverance. He did not give up when 'whole regiments deserted and gave themselves up to open plundering. Officers quarreled over rank as dogs over bones; there was graft and corruption with army supplies, and, as money came from voluntary contributions of the states, funds could not be relied upon.' To add to these harassing difficulties, there were knives of treachery, treason, and disloyalty constantly at Washington's back.

Many a time Washington had turned defeat into victory. The most striking proof of this is the battle of Monmouth, which followed the winter at Valley Forge. In the spring of 1778 the English army evacuated Philadelphia, 'the rebel capital', and started towards New York. Washington with his colonial army followed. Most of his generals counselled him not to fight; but Washington knew what was best.

He sent Lafayette, the French nobleman who had come to aid the Americans, with a strong detachment behind the enemy and proposed to attack simultaneously from front and rear. General Charles Lee, a traitor at heart, was given the command of the advance guard. He had positive instructions to attack and hold the English engaged until Washington should come up in overwhelming force. Instead of attacking, Lee retreated almost before the English had fired a shot.

Washington dashed to the front and found Lee's forces in full flight. He rode straight to Lee, called him in blazing indignation a 'damned poltroon,' and himself at once took command. Had it not been for Washington, the Lee treachery might have annihilated the colonial army and ended the Revolution then and there. The retreat was halted. The fugitives were promptly rallied. The colonial army under Washington quickly turned about, and gave the redecoats such a hot bayonet charge at Monmouth that they were glad to escape that night, instead of stopping to rest and bury their dead. The day was saved for the American revolutionists. 'Washington's resolution, his personal courage, and his power over men converted a disaster into victory.'

CAUSES OF REVOLUTION

The American colonists rebelled against England because of its despotism. They regarded the English as the most depraved and barbarous people on earth. To Washington the British king 'was a tyrant, his ministers were scoundrels, and the British people were lost to every sense of virtue.'

A whole library of books has been written upon the causes of the American War of Independence. I cannot here even begin to discuss them. I shall, however, quote a few paragraphs on the subject from an essay written by the present occupant of the White house. When President Coolidge was Calvin Coolidge, a student at Amherst College, he won the prize of a gold medal for the best paper written by any American college student on the causes of the revolutionary war. In



• THE WHITE HOUSE •
The Home of the President

7 For two pages 111

this prize essay, Coolidge gave the following as the chief reasons for the resistance of the colonists to England:

First: it closed the port of Boston, thus destroying the property of thousands.

Second: it declared void certain parts of the charter of Massachusetts, following a policy begun in New York in 1767, and so it virtually attempted to annihilate the protection of chartered rights and chartered liberties that has always been so dear to Englishmen. Free government was destroyed too, in another way.

Judges, courts, sheriffs, were made almost the puppets of the king. They were placed in his direct pay and made subject to his pleasure. Town meetings were forbidden, and thus the old familiar forms of self-government were entirely swept away.

The governor was made as absolute as a despot, and the form of government that was thrust upon Massachusetts was despotism such as Englishmen would not have endured, even in the days of Henry VIII.

Third: The British government sent nearly all criminals to England for trial.

Fourth: Soldiers were quartered upon the inhabitants, so that a military government was set up in the colonies.

Fifth. Parliament passed the so-called Quebec Act to separate the French from any bond of sympathy with the colonies.

The governor stood over them like a viceroy. In his command was the army. If a soldier should murder a citizen he was sent to England for a trial.

If a citizen should become a criminal he, too, might be sent across the sea, in order that in both cases the government might have all the advantage. It was a military despotism. There were no popular meetings, no criminal courts, no habeas corpus, no freedom of the press.

The real principle was not one of the right of the state or the duty of citizens; it was a question of government, a question of form and method.

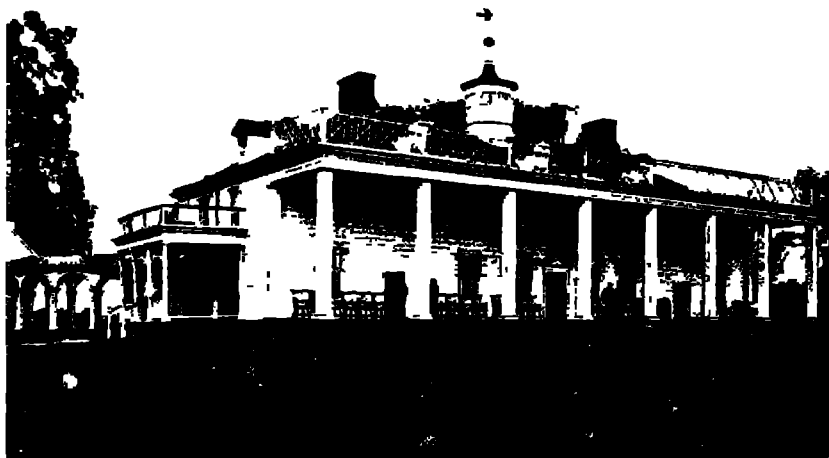
Still there is another factor that must have eventually led to separation. The great land of America had a part to play in the history of the world that could best be performed by making it an independent nation. England's great work was to plant colonies. America could not aid in that work. It was her place to found a great nation on this side of the Atlantic and bring out the conception on free government.'

WASHINGTON A WORLD HERO

Recently an American literature has dug into the past and branded George Washington as a great card player, an inveterate dancer, a distiller of good whiskey, and a champion curser. He has also declared that Washington 'never prayed and persistently avoided any participation in Communion.'

Legends may try to picture Washington as a marble saint, more God than man. That would be doing violence to historic truth. The Washington legend and the real Washington have, of course, no necessary relationship. In private life, Washington was not perhaps the paragon of all virtues. A study of Washington's letters and diaries will convince one that he was a man of flesh and blood, and not a spotless saint. He is to be judged as a man and never a wax figure.

A persistent legend runs to the effect that when Washington was a child of six years of age, he could not tell a lie. Later in life he appeared to have overcome this disability — at last in part. On one occasion he wrote to a friend that the mosquitoes of New Jersey 'can bite through the thickest boot !'



The Home of George Washington
Mt. Vernon.

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. George Washington also wrote this without a blush: 'I announced that I would leave at 8 and then immediately gave private orders to go at 5, and so to avoid the throng.'

Another time he dismissed a man because of his incompetency, and then wrote a fine testimonial of 'character.'

Washington was a human being with a few human frailties; but his essential greatness far surpasses his surface blemishes. History records that during the eight years of revolutionary war he had met 'crisis after crisis with his own private fortune, and neither as Commander-in-Chief nor as President had he taken one cent of salary.' He was the Mount Everest of American patriotism. Washington does not need bromide blarney as a demigod. He is one of the massive figures in the political history of the world. He might not have been a great soldier, but he was a fine statesman, and a wise patriot 'who knew no glory but his country's good.'

The mansion of the first American President at Mount Vernon is a national shrine. Today King George and Prince of Wales deem it an honour to journey to Mount Vernon and lay wreaths of homage upon the tomb of George Washington, 'the arch rebel' of the eighteenth century. Humanity has need of such 'rebels.'

CHAPTER III

PROHIBITION

The United States was the first great country of the world to adopt prohibition as national legislative policy. Prohibition has not completely prevented the making and using of intoxicants. It has, however, substantially reduced the evil. There is still considerable drinking; but this, in comparison with pre-prohibition times, is almost negligible. Formerly drinking was made cheap, easy, and inviting. Now, drinking is made costly, difficult, and dangerous. In the days of open grog shops, drunkenness could be seen upon every street of American cities. Today an intoxicated man is a rare sight in American streets.

Once in New York there were eight thousand school teachers and eight thousand open saloons. At the present time there are about sixteen thousand school teachers, and not one legally open saloon. A man can still get a drink in New York, if he knows the ropes and is in partnership with the criminal conspiracy against the government in that city. 'But what about the man who is not thus advantaged?' asked Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the famous New York divine who introduced Mahatma Gandhi to America. 'A dozen years ago a common man like myself with no inside information, could get a drink on

every corner, sometimes on three and even four sides of a corner. Today this common man could find it difficult to get a drink, and unless he is a confirmed tippler would not think the gain worth the trouble of a hunt. New York, I am ready to believe, is wet, but general public conditions are so much better today in this regard than they were when I first knew New York, eighteen years ago, that I would not have them changed back again for worlds."

Prohibition, I maintain, is a success. It is indeed the greatest piece of social legislation ever undertaken in modern times.

BETTER HEALTH AND MORAL

The success of prohibition should be measured in terms of better physical, moral and economic conditions. The first reaction to prohibition has been to reduce mortality. According to one authority, prohibition brought down the death-rate from alcoholism to about one-fifth that of pre-prohibition days.

Alcohol is not a stimulant or food. It is a poison; it is an enemy of the human race. Its effects do not stop with the individual, but are hereditary. 'Alcohol attacks the reproductive glands. It weakens the integrity of the nervous system of the unborn child. It sterilizes the mentally brilliant while failing to interfere with propagation by the sheerly animal men. It promotes the degeneration of the race.' Liquor, America has perceived, is destructive to national progress and efficiency.

Times there were when it was supposed that the medical profession could not get along without alcohol.

It is no longer considered a necessary adjuvant in any case. The American Medical Association has gone on record as opposed to the prescribing of intoxicants. It is true that alcohol has been used from remote antiquity to relieve the ill and hasten convalescence; but, remarks Dr. Howard A. Kelly of Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore), that it 'does not prove that it was ever really beneficial, for goose's, peacock's, and cow's dung, scrapings and nails, roaches, and spiders have been prescribed for the same purpose, while modern medical science rejects them to day, just as multitudes of practitioners reject alcohol'. Intelligent physicians are no more in favour of prescribing liquor for their patients than they are for prescribing opium. Both alcohol and opium are narcotics, and their possible usefulness is far outweighed by the incalculable harm they do.

Enormous gains in health from prohibition are clearly reflected in statistics of insanity. With great sobriety, which has come with prohibition, alcoholic insanity in America has decreased by two-thirds.

The moral health of the nation seems to be much better today than it was under the rule of Demon Whiskey. Its record has been one of blasted hopes, crushed ambitions, wrecked homes, blighted lives, ruined souls, and sad bitter tears. With the Monster Liquor in exile, a new day of hope is at hand. With the decreasing menace of alcohol, pauperism, suicide, vice and crime are on the wane. As the drunkenness has lessened, the brothel and with it the much dreaded venereal disease has faded. Today there is no city of

any consequence in the United States which tolerates public houses of prostitution. They have been practically eliminated everywhere.

BETTER ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

It should be apparent that prohibition has not recommended itself to America from mere sentimentality. Americans are a practical people. Dreamy idealism is not the ruling passion of this country. To be sure there is, in many places, a lip service to idealism and technical Christianity with its doctrinal apparatus; but that is very much on the surface. Americans are too busy to bother their head about the invisible Reality, the indwelling spirit. 'The spirit that dwelt in this Church,' wrote Emerson, 'has glided away to animate other activities; and they who come to the old shrines find apes and players rustling the old garments.'³⁰ It is the hard calculating dollars-and-cents materialism which governs American existence. Naturally the greatest test of prohibition which counts in American mind is economic. And in that respect prohibition has more than justified itself.

Americans have learned that the liquor traffic is a parasite upon the body of society: it is a non-producer. Every dollar that is squandered in an alcoholic drink is a dollar taken away from the productive channels of legitimate trade. In the first few years of prohibition, which included a period of business depression and unemployment, savings bank deposits increased more than any wet period of equal length. Prohibition pays larger dividends in increased financial prosperity for the nation.

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Formerly the working classes used to pay a stupendous drink bill. Increased prosperity generally meant more drinking and less efficiency. Now they are using the money that went into liquor, productively. With the consumption of intoxicating beverages vastly reduced among labouring people, they are with their savings, able to live in better houses, wear better clothes and maintain a higher standard of living all around. Not only do labourers have today increased comforts and opportunities, but they are extending a control over capital and are themselves becoming capitalists. There are in the United States twenty-eight labour banks in operation under the control of labour. They have a combined resource of Rs. 450,000,000. If the American working class were steeped in liquor, remember, it could not possibly have established such a record.

A whole library of statistics may be given on the beneficent economic results of prohibition in the United States; but statistics are liable to weary the reader. I wish, however, to call attention to American life insurance which has perhaps developed more rapidly in recent times than any other department of business. In little over thirty years the amount of life insurance in the United States has increased from fifteen billion rupees to more than one hundred and twenty-six billion rupees. The number of life insurance policy holders is much larger today than ever before.

It is almost unthinkable that when prohibition has proved such a great success, commercially and industrially, America will ever go back to 'the old days' of booze drinking.

• PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

'Thou shalt not drink' is the eleventh commandment for the United States. And although this commandment, like all others, is violated at times, it does not necessarily prove its condemnation. There is a law against homicide in all countries and yet homicides are committed. Now what nation on earth would condemn the law against manslaughter as a patent failure and live without it? No law can claim to be 100 per cent successful. Success is relative; it is a definition of matter and degree. By and large, the prohibition law is as effective as other laws.

The fact to get in our mind is that those who prefer their selfish appetite to the public welfare will be able to get their liquor for some time to come, if they try hard. But such creatures will always be regarded by law-abiding decent citizens 'as completely contemptible, as dope-fiends, wife-beaters, and bandits.'

The illicit distilling of hard liquor by means of 'stills' is a violation of the law. The contraband liquor is sometimes called the bootleg liquor from the practice of carrying a flask in the leg of a boot.* The traitorous business of the bootlegger is condemned by decent citizens. The bootlegger who profits by exploiting human weakness, is a criminal. The vast majority of Americans, who have accepted the prohibition as essential to community welfare and good government,

* Liquor smuggled or illicitly distilled is also referred to as moonshine. A moonshiner is an illicit distiller or smuggler. He is so called from being engaged in the illicit trade at night.

are strongly of the opinion that the peak of law-breaking has been passed and that during the next few years it will decline steadily. The illegitimate manufacture and sale of alcohol cannot go on for ever, if Uncle Sam means what he says.

The United States has been described by some one as a dry land surrounded on three sides by oceans of liquor. Alcoholic waves threaten the country especially on the Atlantic seaboard. Recently vast fleets of British liquor, in utter disregard of the prohibition law of this country, have been engaged in wholesale booze-running off the coast of New York.

The most brazen smuggling venture by an Englishman by the name of Hartwell — Sir Broderick, to be precise — who came to grief at last, is still fresh in American mind. He was a practicing politician of some kind or other, an M. P. as I remember it. Well this eminent bootlegger, whom the New York *World* called 'Sir Broderick Hartwell, Btlgr.', began his activities in the fall of 1923, when Sir Broderick issued circulars to prospective investors, promising them a 20 percent return on their money every six days if they would join his enterprise. The booze baronet used to bring his ships of liquor to the twelve-mile limit of the coast, and from there transfer the cargoes to American rum-smuggling vessels at a high profit. The carefully financed and organized enterprise became so successful that it attracted 1,000 stockholders. They were getting extra large dividends. To them law was only a scrap of paper.

Finally the titled bootlegger, this fine flower of

English Knighthood, was nabbed. The rum-running billion-dollar bubble was completely shattered by the American prohibition navy. The beggars were for the moment driven out of the liquor traffic. Broderick Hartwell was a man of parliamentary importance in his native country and was backed by many Brittanics of wealth and influence. The American government, in order to avoid further entanglements in an international scandal of such a magnitude, let off the booze-guzzling Englishman without a sentence in jail. 'What would Great Britain think,' asked the *Witch-eta Beacon*, 'if a United States Senator should charter a ship for the purpose of smuggling into England, or evading the opium traffic regulation of India?' No Englishman has yet been known to answer the question. And the *Tacoma Ledger* observed on Hartwell's whiskey raids:

These rum-running Englishmen are of the breed that once sent out ships in the slave trade after all civilized nations had denounced such trade as a crime. Doubtless this rum-running venture will serve a good purpose, in that it will attract the attention of the English people generally to this sneaking effort to circumvent the laws of another country.

The war against illicit liquor is becoming more determined and is fought along a constantly extending front. On sea, on land and in the air, forces of prohibition enforcement are carrying on their war of extermination. The failure of the Hartwell argosies is a refreshing evidence of new efficiency of American campaign against rum-runners. Even though the combined liquor interests of the world are trying to break down prohibition in America, the government of this

country will not impotently submit to the violation of its laws. Smuggling can and will be ultimately suppressed.

DRY LAW TO STAY

In studying the prohibition question, one should constantly bear in mind that America is no more a homogenous nation than Africa. Our dear American missionaries in India forget to tell that the United States is inhabited by vastly more races than India. Out of 3,124 distinct languages and dialects in all the world, Asia has 937, Africa has 276, while America has 1,621. There are in these United States 1,101 foreign language periodicals with a combined circulation of almost 11,000,000. Neither are the American people united in a single religious belief, there being several hundred rival religious creeds, and innumerable quarrelsome controversies of firebrand theologians. In a country of such a conglomeration of myriad races, it is not to be expected that there will be a perfect unanimity of opinion on the liquor question. Those thirsty persons who are now opposed to prohibition are however a small minority, and they will probably change their mind in time. If they don't, they will be looked after by the strong executive arm. The overwhelming majority, it seems, is in favour of stringent prohibition.

A distinguished American remarked the other day that Americans might as well try to reverse the direction of rapids at Niagara, as to reverse the deliberate verdict of the American people on the liquor issue. I am inclined to agree with him: prohibition is here to

stay. It's repeal is one of the master delusions of the wets. Experiences have taught that no man is made healthier, wealthier, or wiser by being alcoholized. The efforts of the last twenty-five years in America have also taught that nation wide prohibition rather than local option is the way to solve the liquor problem. The only possible solution of the drink burden is the removal of the drink itself. Dvys freely admit that the success of prohibition is not perfect, but it is here nevertheless. Progress, substantial progress, has been made in the fight against the liquor traffic. 'Progress,' said Victor Hugo, 'is the stride of God, and God never takes a stride backward.'

All this is merely a text for my sermon. It is thus. If we Indians are not ignorant of our great heritage, and blind to our present and future, should we not take a tip from the American policy of prohibition? Let us free our nation from alcohol. It is challenge to our patriotism.

'Then strike, comrades of the long war, strike'

Strike through your blinding tears,
Strike with the passion of the years,
Strike till the rum foe disappears,

It shall not stand.

'Strike till the last armed foe expires,
Strike for your altars and your fires,
Strike for the green graves of your sires,
God and your native land.'

CHAPTER IV

MENACE OF OPIUM

Opium has been outlawed by the United States Congress; but it is smuggled into the country in large quantities. America, it is generally conceded, is one of the greatest consumers of opium and its derivatives. America has therefore a vital interest in the suppression of the nefarious opium traffic.

There is of course no possibility of knowing the actual number of narcotic addicts. This is due to the fact that the use of opium in America is a secret, and not a public vice. The victims doubtless number by thousands, and tens of thousands. The United States Department of Justice announced not long ago that more prisoners were sentenced for violation of the National Anti-Narcotic Law than for the violation of the National Prohibition Law.

OPIUM VICTIMS

The prevalence of addiction to narcotic drugs is causing the greatest apprehensions to American medical, educational and religious bodies. The platforms of all political parties, patriotic and civic associations, are pledged to wipe out the opium curse. All addicts do not come from the underworld. They go there, but ninety per cent of them start among the so-called best people. It has been demonstrated by extended inves-

investigations of the United States Treasury Department and by records of Public Health Offices that the evil has its largest proportionate number of victims not among the irresponsible elements of society, but that all classes are open to its stealthy advances. The Treasury Report revealed the portentous fact that the largest proportionate number of victims are found among 'housewives, labourers, doctors, nurses, pharmacists.' The chief of the Board of Health of San Francisco also reported that the 'great majority of the victims are found among the upper strata of society including doctors, lawyers, statesmen, business men, intelligent and able mechanics, only a small percentage being of the criminal type.' The evil is therefore striking the country in its muscle as well as in its brain.

The bureaucrats in India say, even in this year of enlightenment that opium is a harmless 'stimulant.' It is highly improbable. In fact, it is plainly not so. Americans, backed by the whole scientific opinion of the genuinely civilized medical men of the world, make merry of the Indian bureaucratic opinion. It is the veriest commonplaces of scientific knowledge that opium is a devilly poison. The point is that if any of the bureaucratic gentry were to come here from India and advance his fool theory about the occult virtues of opium, he would be promptly arrested. Worse, he is likely to be shut up in jail as a moron or a dangerous loony.

Americans recognize that the habit of addiction quickly develops a perilous disease which can be subdued only by adequate medical care. The problems

of addiction are of utmost seriousness to the nation. Physicians are urged to fight them with the same heroic spirit which they have shown in attacking yellow fever, and other devastating plagues.

When the United States took possession of the Philippines, it found there in full swing an opium trade introduced by the Spaniards. The American rulers of the Islands, obviously lacking the fine medical knowledge of the omniscient Indian bureaucrats, at once closed the opium dens and abolished the opium traffic.

NARCOTIC EDUCATION WEEK

Realizing the awfulness of narcotic indulgence, America observed the last week of February as *Anti-Narcotic Education Week*. Such an Education Week offered an invaluable opportunity for diffusion of information. Schools, churches, clubs, and civic societies appealed to all agencies for co-operation and to direct activities of observance.

Governors of many States issued official proclamations designating the week of February 20 to 27 as Anti-Narcotic Education Week. The Governor of the State of Arizona, in issuing the proclamation, sought to arouse not only the public opinion in this country, but throughout the world for overthrowing the opium menace. 'I further call upon the press,' declared the Arizona Governor, 'the clergy, educators and all persons in positions of influence to utter to youth and all others their solemn warning against even the least possible beginnings of these insidious poisons and to register their appeal to public opinion of all nations to

the end that all may recognize their responsibility and unite in efforts against this enemy of mankind. '

The voice of the people may not be the voice of God, but public opinion is undoubtedly the mightiest power under heaven. As an example of what the aroused public opinion will do, Americans point to the fact that only a few months ago the British government in India announced officially that exportation of opium from India was going to be cut down progressively. Time will come when the public opinion will be so stirred even in India that it will stop the mouths of all those who have been stoutly but falsely asseverating that the Indian people have no objection to the opium traffic. That is bound to happen on some not distant tomorrow. Now watch !

The Anti-narcotic fight of the Education Week was not confined merely to a few gubernatorial pronouncements. With the zeal of a moral crusade, the campaign was carried from one end of the country to the other. Mayors of towns and cities issued proclamations, appointed local committees, and organized public meetings which adopted resolutions expressive of abhorrence of the evil. The press spoke forth the loudest possible warning to all who are subject to the temptation. It called on such nations as still share in the opium traffic to reject henceforth its blood money. Churches arranged for narcotic pulpit discussions at meetings before and during the Education Week. Movies put on trailers, short pictorials, and educational titles at all performances. Radio stations, too, did their bit in this campaign. They broadcast brief dis-

cussions daily during the Narcotic Education Week.

TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Greatest possible attention was focussed upon schools, where young people are put wise to the dangers of the narcotics. Educational organizations of all sorts adopted plans for instruction of youth and for co-operation in anti-narcotic meetings.

Many years ago von Humboldt said : ' Whatever you wish to introduce into a nation you must first introduce into its schools. ' Acting apparently on this axiom, American schools give regular lessons on the evils of strong drink and narcotic plague. Almost all States require instruction in schools in the perils of opium. The Board of Education of Delaware has recently made special announcement, calling upon ' Boards of Education, school directors, school superintendents, principals, and teachers to exercise unusual vigilance in shielding school children, and to see that suitable instruction and information is available to enable each child to safeguard himself against a habit unspeakably terrible. ' The members of the Brooklyn Board of Education likewise have lately felt called upon to inform the public of the ceaseless vigilance which they find themselves under the necessity of exercising.

School teachers are constantly on guard, and never fail to warn their pupils of the devilly effects of the opium drugs. Here is the substance of a talk which a teacher gave to the school assembly : ' Try Everything Once ? Not on Your Life. It is a fool stunt. If you know anyone who talks that way tell him that if

he **MUST** try anything once, don't begin on narcotics, not even once. Try something easy. Try playing with cobras and rattlesnakes. Maybe they won't bite. Try a stiff dose of rat poison. Maybe the doctor will get to you in time, run his pump down your throat and pump you out. But if you once get narcotics into your system no pump ever made can pump them out. You are hooked, you have swallowed the bait, hook, and sinker. '

HOW IT ALL STARTED

Some fifty years ago an American wrote home from India that opium, in forty years, would circle the globe. The prophecy has been fulfilled with deadly accuracy. How did it all begin? The evil practically started in 1776, when a profitable financial budget had to be arranged for the old East India Trading Company. It was proposed to raise the poppy in India, make opium, and sell it to China.

Warren Hastings of the unhappy memory, who suggested the scheme, wrote to England that this new alluring drug was so pernicious that it should be carefully kept away from the English people, and should be used for purposes of Chinese commerce only. China decreed death to any Chinese implicated in the traffic. Means were found, however, to get the drug in. It spread with such rapidity that it menaced the very life of the nation.

The Chinese government in its efforts to purge the country of the opium curse decided upon a heroic measure. In 1839 the Chinese seized 1,440 tons of the

British drug in the harbour of Canton, which they destroyed as contraband and piratical. Then followed the two Opium Wars. By 1856 the Chinese opposition to opium trade was finally broken down. China was compelled to sign a treaty legalizing opium importation. A great flood of opium poured in. Moreover, the Chinese, to save money, began extensive cultivation of the poppy and the making of opium. Gradually the whole nation went opium-drunk and yielded to its seduction.

Then came the awakening. In 1906 the Chinese began a campaign for the suppression of opium in their country. They destroyed the poppy on about two million acres of land, and closed up 500,000 opium dens. It was a period of great national house clean-up. For a time China was opium-free.

‘The same greed of the white man,’ writes an American, ‘which in the beginning forced opium upon the Chinese, next forced upon them morphine and heroin, ten times worse than opium.’ Under the disorganized condition prevailing in China since its Revolution (1911), the growing of the poppy has been renewed. The magnificent fight of a few years ago has all but gone for nothing. The battle, it seems, has to be fought all over again.

India and China are to day the principal poppy growers of the world. The poppy must go. Opium is an international menace. No nation—so Americans argue—is safe as long as there is the backwash of Indian and Chinese narcotics to flood the world.

During the late European War, India helped to put down the Hun and save civilization. Why aren't the Indian people now permitted to save their country and the world from the demon poppy, a hundred times more insidious than the Hunnish Hun ?

CHAPTER V

OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN WOMEN

Years ago Gorki and Tchekhoff, then obscure writers, came to see Tolstoy in the Crimea. The conversation turned upon women. Tolstoy listened to his visitors for a while and then gravely remarked: 'And I will tell the truth about women only when I have one foot in the grave. I shall tell it, jump into my coffin, pull the lid over me, and say, 'Do what you like with me now.' Nevertheless—

Tolstoy was no plaster saint. Besides, he must have known that women are human beings. Women are no more mysterious, dangerous or sinful than are men. On the contrary, woman — like man — has intellect, ambition, talent, sense of duty and honour. In things fundamental, she is the equal of man.

The 'woman movement' in America has insisted from the very beginning that there should be an equal status for women with men in the laws and in every department of life. Without the equality of opportunity, democracy is a mockery. There are a few who say that women are weak and are not the equal *of men*. *Women should not therefore have the equal opportunities with men.* The argument is fallacious.

Let us look at the 'woman question' with a practical and realistic eye. There are women who are

physically, intellectually and morally strong, and there are others who are weak. Again, there are men who are physically, intellectually and morally strong, and there are others who are weak, feeble and a disgrace to the human race. Now who has ever advocated restricting the opportunities of all men because some men have shown weakness or incapacity ?

The master key to the door of opportunity is education. And long had been the American struggle to get the key. I recall an incident from the early colonial history of the United States. Nearly a century and a half ago the people of Virginia, a colony given over to tobacco plantations, realized the need of education as an instrument of progress. They begged and prayed the English Governor to introduce primary education in the colony. The request only aroused the ire and the contempt of the English ruler 'Damn your education,' he swore, 'Go back to your plantation and raise tobacco ! That's all you are good for.'

Then came the American war of Independence. And shortly after the colonists had won their liberty, they made education free and compulsory, for both boys and girls, in State after State. Since then America has made great strides in education. Today not only primary education is free to American children, but also the High School instruction. The university education is expensive; but it is by no means restricted to the sons and daughters of the wealthy folk. Any American student, who has ability, enthusiasm and determination, finds many opportunities to work his or her way through the university. Lack of cash

does not constitute an insurmountable barrier to education in this country. Right here it is worth noting that more women attend colleges and universities in the United States than anywhere else in the world. Is it any wonder that America, where women advance side by side with men, should be the most go-ahead nation of the world ?

One of the tenets of the forward-looking American social philosophy is that the ' sanctity of home ' does not depend upon mere sewing and cooking by a woman within the four walls of a house. Her home is as wide as the earth, and as high as the sky. There is scarcely any so-called man's work, except that of the army, which women are not capable of doing. A few years ago in the United States over five million women were employed in the following five great occupational groups; agriculture, professional groups, domestic and personal service, trade and transportation, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Today over seven million women are employed in gainful occupations in these United States.

All that women need is proper training and opportunity. The late war proved that conclusively. In factories — such as clothing, shoe, hat, silk and embroidery — all the lighter work is done by women. In offices women serve as secretaries, in banks as bookkeepers, in hotels as clerks, and in restaurants as waiters. You go shopping, and you find that in shops the sales force is almost exclusively made up of women. The age of women employed in these various occupations runs from sixteen to sixty.



THE WINDENWOOD COLLEGE
A COLLEGE OF THE COUNTRY HOUSES.

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A COUNTRY KITCHEN

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In the professional lines the women in America are coming fast to the front, if they have not done so already. Take as an example the teaching profession. The teachers in the elementary schools are almost all women. In the secondary institutions, or High Schools, the number of men and women is about equal. The reason for this quasi-monopoly of the teaching profession by the women in the United States is traced back to the American Civil War when the necessity for other services made heavy drafts on men. It is not such a terribly long time since women were admitted to higher institutions of learning. About forty years ago there were many colleges which would absolutely refuse to admit a woman. However, today equal favour is shown to men and women, and the result is that women are progressively branching out into professions formerly considered to be the holy preserves of only men. Nowadays it is quite common to see women studying medicine, law and both physical and biological sciences. In the different branches of engineering, too, one finds frequently women working along side with men.

America, whatever her defects may be, is at least democratic enough to regard work as an honour and to consider the worker as a valuable citizen of the community. America is of course confronted with the disappearance of the old-fashioned home. It is indeed a fact that the large, comfortable family homes of two generations back are gradually turned into apartment houses. In the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in order to encourage the construction of one-family houses,

prizes are given for the most artistic architecture and garden. As a rule modern Americans like to live in apartments because they have all the latest conveniences such as cold and hot water, electric light, heat, gas and lift. Some apartments are very small. They consist of one large room. This room is flanked on one side by a bath-room and maybe a dressing-room, and on the other side a kitchen so small as to be called a kitchenette. Yet in spite of its smallness, nothing is missing and all the imaginable accessories found in an honest-to-goodness kitchen are present. Everything is just small doll-house size. Everything, too, is within reach of the housewife. No waste of steps, no lost motion.

A very interesting feature of apartment rooms is the disappearing bed. That is really worth while seeing. My first visit in one of these apartments will ever be in my memory. I was delighted with the little flat, but one thing worried me. 'Where is your bed?' I asked my friend. He opened a door and there stood the looked-for object not as I expected it -- on its four legs -- but upright on two legs, with mattress, pillows, sheets and a blanket all ready for use. Seeing my bewildered look, he loosened a spring and down came the bed as if by magic.

It is evident that in modern apartments the house-keeping problems have become reduced to a minimum. And it is owing to this fact that women have leisure time and are seeking some gainful employment to help out the family budget.

As for the working women with small children and



AN INVITING HEARTH

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no one to look after them while they are at work, there are social agencies to take care of them. They may bring their little ones to a day nursery. For a very nominal sum a mother may deposit her child at the nursery, and be assured that some responsible person is watching over him, tending to his physical needs and is trying to make him happy.

Many a young married couple, with a child or two, attends the university during the three summer months. The wife studies the science of bringing up children, or home economics or even some courses in liberal arts, while the husband pursues his studies for a more advanced degree.

Education is the prevailing style, if not the fad in America. It may interest the reader to know that courses over the radio are given to those who cannot come to the university and attend the lectures. Universities and colleges go out and meet the people.

The institutions of higher learning are crowded during June, July and August with a population of students of miscellaneous ages. Sometimes the younger students jocosely call their Alma Mater, 'The old people's home.' The name is not altogether a misnomer, for in some classes, one sees a girl of eighteen sitting next to an elderly gentleman or a matronly woman with snow white hair. Side by side they study the same subjects without ever thinking that they have passed the prime of their life many summers ago.

From the American point of view, municipal administration is something like a house-keeping establishment. We know that women are the keepers of the

home. Considering the community as a family and the communal problems, American women are giving themselves to work of civic welfare in their own cities, towns or villages. In the United States, the family is no longer an independent entity. The conditions prevalent in the community act upon the individual home. Intelligent women regard civic problems of every kind — sewers, schools, water supply, lighting, general hygiene — as questions which affect the well-being of their own families. They cannot therefore be indifferent to their civic duties.

After seventy or more years of incessant effort, American women have won the franchise. It is only eight years since the women have had the vote. During this time they have seen two women become Governors of States, seven women elected to Congress and several women chosen as judges of higher courts. Women are now an integral part of the electorate. They have reasoned out that the functions of the electorate in a free country are three-fold :

1. The maintenance of a body of fundamental law, called the constitution, which provides in general outline for the organization of government, places limits upon the powers of government, and defines the sphere of individual liberty.

2. The election, directly or indirectly, of magistrates and judges to conduct the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government.

3. The creation and expression of public opinion on political issues and the government.

This is a tremendous task. Are the American women voters equal to it ? Can they reasonably be expected to perform the functions of the electorate wisely and with responsibility ? Let us see what they are doing.

This is the Presidential election year. America has now become one great political battle ground. In this nation-wide political contest, the women through their various organizations are taking an active part and are showing that they are fully alive to their duties and responsibilities as citizen-voters. The Women's Department of National Civic Federation is seeking to educate the electorate on the 'issues' of the Presidential campaign. The voter must know not only the difference between the political parties and their candidates, but he should also know the 'principles' at stake. The Federation is therefore emphasizing the fact that preparedness is the best part of voting.

Miss Maude Wetmore is the chairman of the Women's Department of National Civic Federation. She believes that woman's influence in politics is for the good of the country. Moreover, she holds that women's greatest sphere of political activity is to be found in the more detailed civic problems of their own home communities; knowledge of these problems inevitably leads to understanding of the large problems of the national community.

'The Women's Department', Miss Wetmore stated in a recent press interview, 'has gone out therefore to urge women to participate in the neighbourhood political meeting, the caucus and the State convention.

These, with the voting booth, are the places where policies are determined for the policing of cities and towns, the management of schools, the supply of courts with officers who will support and enforce the law — those essentials for which all citizens pay whether they are done well or ill, and where there is to be found the most cogent proof that poor government, *like poor clothes or poor machinery*, costs more in the end than good government, wisely conceived and properly controlled. '

In this connection mention should also be made of the National Federation of Business and Professional women, which has a membership of many thousands. This organization is made up of 871 clubs whose members are lawyers, bankers, physicians, writers, secretarial and insurance workers, merchants and others engaged in business and professional life. These are the women who are in touch with realities. They know from their daily activities that business prosperity depends on the welfare of city, province, and nation. They are therefore pledged to exert their influence for good government which is at the basis of national and individual prosperity.

The predominant feature of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women is not merely political. It has working committees on education, legislation, public and international relations. The whole membership, through provincial and local federation machinery, is urged by these several committees not only to use the vote itself, but to urge all women with whom it comes in contact, likewise to



Students of a School to
Promote Culture

To be continued

exercise the full privilege and potential power of enfranchisement.

Without wishing to exhaust the entire list of women's activities in America, I wish briefly to refer to one other field of woman's work. In the olden days charity used to be given by kind-hearted aged ladies indiscriminately. This tended to encourage idleness, fraud, and even vice. To-day progressive women have banded themselves together and started a movement known as organized charity. Being usually women of wealth and leisure they devote a part of their time to help people less fortunate than they are. As a result, individual almsgiving has disappeared and so also the beggars.

Each community of any size has its social service center. There any one may report if he is needy. His case will be investigated at once. If the man is out of work, a job is found for him; or if he is sick, he is taken to the hospital. The social centers also provide amusements and recreations for children in order to keep them away from the evil influence of the streets. In most cities the women have taken the initiative in social service. They are the members of boards of public charities, reform schools, hospitals, and orphanages. The well-known settlement house in Chicago known as the Hull House, has as its head one of the ablest women in America, Miss Jane Addams. Her helpers who are largely women of wealth and education devote a part of their time to the good of the community.

In America there is opportunity for work for all. This opportunity is not conditioned by any considera-

tion of sex. Thanks be to those noble souls who have awakened to the fact that the fate of every human being is linked to every other in an indissoluble union. America has accorded full recognition of women as human beings : they have the same right to live and work and be happy as men. Women are a part of the seething life that throbs and pulses. They should be given full opportunity everywhere to work for truth, beauty, and harmony. Will the women of India respond to the awakening forces of a new day and the compulsion of changing circumstances ? Isn't the time yet ripe ?

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Let Us Now Praise Thee

CHAPTER VI

TWO NATIONAL HEROES

February witnesses the birthday anniversaries of two of the most famous characters in American history. George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. They are both giants. Without Washington the Republic of the United States of America would probably never have come into existence, and without the guiding genius of Lincoln the Republic might have been torn to pieces by the Slavery War (1861-1865). And yet it is pertinent to ask at this time as to which of these two men holds the first place in the hearts of their countrymen. Whatever the verdict of the history may be, there is unmistakably a feeling in America today that Lincoln was greater than Washington.

LINCOLN THE MODEL

One notices at the very outset points of contrast between these two men. Washington, though born on this side of the Atlantic, was an Englishman with English background and English viewpoints. The American ideal was then in a stage of formation. Washington imported his ideas as well as his wardrobe from England. He was predominantly English. It is said that he bought his hats and his wife's bonnets in England, according to the prevailing London style. Moreover, he was enormously wealthy. After he

married the rich widow, Mrs. Martha Crstis, he became the master of a vast estate.

Abraham Lincoln was truly an American, a product of the American soil. He 'belonged to a generation born and reared under influences almost one hundred per cent American. His food, clothing, education, reading, and the life and habits of his associates, all belonged to the forest and soil of America.' He was a type of American which owed the very minimum to influences from across the sea in outward appearances at least.

In their early youth, Washington and Lincoln were land surveyors. They both had elementary educational training for that occupation. The significant difference, however, between the education of the two is that Washington was *sent* to school, while Lincoln *went* to school.

The picture which appeals most powerfully to American imagination is that of young Lincoln studying by the faint light of faggots, and doing his problems of arithmetic on the back of the wooden shovel. His very poverty was an incentive to self-improvement and self-education. Washington had little occasion to develop self-reliance and display self-reliance to the extent that Lincoln had.

In matters of religion, too, George Washington was different from Abraham Lincoln. A lukewarm Christian, Washington was a member of the high-toned Episcopal church; while Lincoln was a member of no church at all. Many of his biographers hold that Lincoln was a free-thinker. Certain it is that he



YOUTH OF LINCOLN

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WASHINGTON at 30 years of Age

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cared little about orthodox religious guff and much less about theological imbecilities. He was sceptical of many of the myths and fables of the Bible. He doubted that Methuselah lived to be nine hundred and sixty-nine years; he doubted that Joshua made the sun stand still; he also doubted that God sent two ferocious she-bears to eat up forty-two playful little children because they yelled bald head at Elisha.

Washington, in spite of his democratic leanings, was an aristocrat at heart. He kept, bought and sold slaves. He sold his black men for insubordination into the West Indies, 'the seventh circle of the slaves' dreams of hell.' Abraham Lincoln, on the other hand, was a democrat – an emancipator. He freed the American slaves from their bondage, and became the exponent of American democratic life and thought.

George Washington is the most revered, but Abraham Lincoln is the best loved man that ever was born in the United States. More books have been written and are being written about Lincoln than any other man that ever trod this continent. The Chief Bibliographer of the Congressional Library at Washington, the third largest library in the world, informed me not long ago that the books and pamphlets relating to Abraham Lincoln in the collections of his library totalled about 2200. He is the model hero of the American people.

WASHINGTON THE MAN

Until quite recently perfervid patriotism hoisted Washington upon a marble pedestal and accorded him a Roman deification. Historians within the past few

years have taken Washington down from his Olympian pedestal and have made of him a flesh-and-blood hero. He was no immaculate sanctimonious person. He was in reality more like a red-blooded human being and less like an anæmic pious dummy.

The facts about Washington are leaking out in dribblets, here a magazine article, there a book, now a sheaf of invaluable old letters. Mr. Rupert Hughes in his new volume entitled *George Washington, the Human Being and the Hero*, asserts that Washington was a regular 'ladies' man.' He fell in love with the wife of one of his best friends, and until his death loved her and her only. 'It is no longer questionable that Washington yielded his heart,' writes Hughes, 'to the love of his life, who was the wife of his best friend — unless she herself had been his best friend. When the infatuation overcame him, how far it carried him, there is no knowing. There is no proof, and no reason to assume, that it went beyond wretched courtship on his part and teasing yet tyrannical evasion on hers. But that it went that far is mere obstinacy to deny.' The name of the lady in the case was Mrs. Sally Fairfax, the wife of the friend who had given Washington his first chance as a surveyor.

From a revealing letter George Washington wrote to Mrs. Fairfax after his engagement to Mrs. Custis was formally announced, Hughes quotes :

'The world has no business to know the object of my love declared in this manner to you when I want to conceal it * * * Adieu to happier times — if I shall

• ever see them. Hours at present are melancholy dull.’

This letter is given here as a mild sample out of many exciting amatory epistles. A first-class love affair this with a Capital ‘L.’

Another illuminating new book on Washington has come from the pen of Mr. W. E. Woodward. It is called *George Washington—The Image and the Man*. It is a brilliant authoritative piece of work, and remarkably free from maudlin sentimentality. It is marked by scholarship and strokes of genius. ‘Washington was a one-bottle man’, says Woodward casually, ‘at dinner he customarily drank a pint of Madeira, besides rum, punch and beer’. He gambled even when he was exhorting his army against the practice. He was the product of his times: he lacked several degrees of being a saint.

LINCOLN THE NATIONALIST

As a result of patient research in recent years, the true Lincoln is gradually emerging from the Lincoln of traditions, the Lincoln of myths. The picture is not altogether pleasing to those who are accustomed to seat Lincoln among the Gods. His countrymen call him ‘the first American.’ And if that title is rightly interpreted, it would according to some of his realistic biographers afford ‘the true key-note of his quality’; he was one of the pioneers of American nationalism.

Frederick T. Hill in his *Lincoln: Emancipator Of The Nation* asserts that throughout the Civil War (Slavery War) Lincoln was ‘the only statesman who thought nationally ... the one leader of public opinion

that invariably stated all disrupting problems which confronted him in the terms of the nation, concentrated his attention on its welfare and let that dominate every other issue'.

That Lincoln's primary concern was not the emancipation of the slaves, but the saving of the nation as a whole and united can be demonstrated by his own words. 'My paramount object in this struggle,' wrote Lincoln to the editor of the *New York Tribune*, 'is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.'

Here Abraham Lincoln stands clearly revealed in his own words: he was a shining nationalist burning with patriotic fervour for the 'Old Glory' (the American national flag). He will be remembered as a great hero as long as America lasts. He impersonates the nationalist America at its best.

WASHINGTON THE PATRIOT

Messrs Woodward's and Rupert Hughes' discoveries concerning George Washington are startling; but they do not seriously interfere with the admiration of Americans for the first President of their Republic. The findings which modern historical research give to



Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Smith
and family

Washington may be true. They did not, however, affect his public life. His private foibles, weaknesses, even moral lapses produced no visible evil effect on his public course. He cannot therefore be shovelled into the discard by realistic biographies. He remains, as ever, the Father of His Country. He has stood the acid test of patriotism. Indeed excepting Lincoln, patriotism has never had a more supreme example in the New World than Washington.

I listened in on the radio the other day when President Coolidge payed a great tribute to George Washington in the Chamber of the House of Representatives at the national capital. 'Washington's was the directing spirit,' said Mr. Coolidge, 'without which there would have been no independence, no union, no constitution, no republic.' He was furious at the wrongs his country suffered at the hands of a tyrant nation. He was the sworn enemy of tyranny. Fight was in his system. Fighter, that's what he was. As the Commander-in-chief of the American forces, Washington triumphed over the English in the height of their power who had acknowledged no victor for seven hundred years. As the first President, he took thirteen little distracted colonies—impoverished, envious, and hostile—and welded them into a unified democratic federation. He was a builder, a creator. His bravery, his sense of public duty, and his courageous steadiness for years when crisis followed crisis with lightning-like rapidity are worthy of unstinted praise.

It will perhaps be admitted by most Americans

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that General Washington made a few tactical blunders, that the man Washington ran a distillery, and drank gloriously like an English gentleman. A capable drinker, he was full of moral eloquence and practised profanity gorgeously and overwhelmingly. But that did not prevent him from having an enjoyable private prayer—meeting when at tight corners. He gambled, danced, and flirted. He had an exquisite relish for women, a flare for secret romance. He was probably relieved from the boredom of playing the great by his amours. He appeared at one time more attentive to another man's wife than to his own. Disappointed he was in his love affairs; but he did not drool with sorrow, nor slid into tears. The red wine made him feel strong and exhilarating. Actually, the man was full of gallantry and hell-raising.

By virtue of these and other facts, he has become a sort of denatured deity. Better still, he has turned out to be a flesh-and-blood man. 'As a God, Washington was a woeful figure; as a man he was tremendous.' What he lost as an idol, he gained as a man. Americans have got far enough to think that much. Washington's life teaches the great religious lesson that 'Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.' It is because of this service that his lightest words seem to his grateful countrymen profound as those of Socrates and inspiring as the notes of a pipe organ.

CHAPTER VII

SEASON OF THANKSGIVING

The last Thursday of the month of November, is known in the United States as the Thanksgiving Day. It is a national festival as firmly fixed as the Fourth of July itself, which is celebrated every year in commemoration of the American Declaration of Independence.

Thanksgiving is the oldest American holiday. Long before Christmas was universally celebrated, while New England mills were still accustomed to running on December 25th, the last Thursday of November was a day set apart for rest and giving thanks for the blessings of the year.

The Pilgrim Fathers held their first Thanksgiving festival in gratitude of plentiful harvest in 1621, the first autumn of their landing in the New World. Since then the custom has continued, with a few interruptions, right up to the present.

In the first year of his office, President Washington issued a proclamation recommending that November 26th, 1789, be kept as a day of 'national thanksgiving' for the establishment of a form of government which made for safety, prosperity, and happiness.

In 1864 President Lincoln gave out a proclamation in which he 'appointed and set aside' the last Thurs-

day in November as a day of national ^gthanksgiving for the defense against unfriendly designs without and signal victories over the enemy who is of our own household.'

Since Lincoln's time, each President has regularly set aside the last Thursday of November for a like festival. The Thanksgiving Proclamation of the President is usually followed by one issued by the Governor of each of the forty-eight States. The Thanksgiving is a legal holiday throughout America.

'CONGRATULATING THE ALMIGHTY'

Formerly the Thanksgiving Day had a religious significance: it was a day of fasting, prayer, and devotion. At present it is almost overshadowed by feasting and merry-making. The Thanksgiving Day is now dedicated to football and pleasures of the table. The matter of giving thanks has slipped into the background. The Thanksgiving Day now means in the typical American household roasted turkey, cranberry sauce, and hot mince pie. The centre of the table, of course, is held by the turkey.

Many Americans of today regard Thanksgiving Proclamations as superfluous, more or less poppycock patter. Said President Coolidge in his Thanksgiving message last week:

'Under the guidance and watchful care of divine and beneficent providence, this country has been carried safely through another year. Almighty God has continued to bestow upon us the light of his countenance and we have prospered. Not only have we enjoyed material success, but we have advanced in wisdom and spiritual understanding. The production of our fields and our factories and

of our manifold activities have been maintained on a high level. There has been advancement in our physical well-being. We have increased our desire for the things that minister to the mind and to the soul. We have raised the mental and spiritual standards of life.

The whole tone of this Proclamation was one of obscene self-complacency. Indeed, Doctor Coolidge's smug Proclamation was dubbed by *The Christian Century* magazine 'Congratulating the Almighty.'

President Calvin Coolidge does not dissociate virtue from material prosperity. He asserted that Americans have not only enjoyed material success, but they have advanced in wisdom and in spiritual understanding. *Christian Century* remarks caustically: 'And we congratulate God that he has on this earth a people so manifestly responsive in their spiritual life to the material blessings he has abundantly bestowed. We do not precisely thank God that we are not as other men, but the sensitive ear will catch echoes of the pharisee's prayer in the proclamation.'

American pharisaism seems to be the inevitable by-product of business success. America has swollen captains of industry and shady financiers; but where are American Platos and Shakespeares and Leonards and Beethovens and St. Franceses? America has industry; but are there no higher values in life than money-making?

LIFE IN MODERN AMERICA

Soon after President Coolidge had finished his wonderful theological magnum opus and his fellow-citizens had indulged in an orgy of self-congratulation, the Associated Press sent over the wire the follow-

ing news from Jenkins in the State of Kentucky :

• Soaring flames mounting from the top of Cumberland mountain signalled the death of Leonard Woods, Negro, who was lynched by a mob of more than 200 armed men early today (November 30th). Woods was shot to death as he faced a half circle of rifles.

• Then his body was placed on a platform recently erected for the dedication ceremonies at the opening of the Kentucky - Virginia high - way. Gasoline was poured over it and a match touched off the structure. '

One man against 200. Flames leap skyward. ' We have raised the spiritual standards of life, ' the orator's voice booms out. This is a government for the people. All men are born equal. Justice to all. Right of trial by jury. Sermon on the Mount. Prince of Peace.

Rifles crack. Red blood splatters. ' Lord, Lord, ' can't you help this Negro, ' wails the blackman. ' Give him a volley of hot lead. Serves the damn nigger right, ' roars back the lynching crowd. America has raised the spiritual standard of mankind. Praise be to the Lord for Holy America.

KATHERINE MAYO NAILED DOWN

There are undoubtedly many unlovely features about Indian home life. No one denies that conditions in India are far from being ideal ; but Katherine Mayo and her cohorts assume that life is perfect in Mother America. Mayo, who has long passed the middle point of life, is a female of inventive mendacity. Being adept at sweeping generalizations, she does not feel at home with truth.

My good friend, Doctor Arthur L. Weatherly, who is a contributing editor of *The Unity* (Chicago),



DR. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

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publishes in his magazine this week an article on *Mother India*. Recognizing that inherited and venerable defects cannot be changed overnight, Doctor Weatherly observes :

‘ An enlightened Hindu might come to the United States and make a study of our social life. His book might begin with the account of the chain gangs which exist in southern States and then continue with a plain story of our county jails. He might next turn his attention to our habits of burning people alive for trivial offences against social customs. His next chapter might deal with these fine examples of corruption and graft in the municipal governments of many of our large cities.

‘ A study of our marriage institutions and customs in the light of the records of our divorce courts might be the next field of his investigation. He could deal with considerable length upon the vast difference between our religious professions as individuals and our conduct as a nation in dealing with Indians, Negroes, Chinese and Japanese. These subjects would by no means limit his field of investigation in the spirit of Miss Mayo. Surely he could tell a sordid and nasty story, but such a picture would not be a picture of America as the intelligent Hindu would recognize as quickly as an intelligent American. A so-called fact out of its relations is not a fact. It is just a lie.

‘ Even if such a book on America buttressed as it might be by quotations from books written by many people during the past century and by quotations from many of our most ardent social workers were written, it would not be the truth. Yet in so far as such a book would stimulate Americans to rid themselves of recognized evils it would be of real value, no matter how much harm it might do to us in poisoning the minds of people living in other countries. ’

Doctor Weatherly takes Katherine Mayo severely to task for her wilful perversion on facts. ‘ It is bad

enough for Miss Mayo to misquote Tagore and Gandhi and other leaders of public opinion in India,' writes Weatherly with a sharp eye for basic facts; 'but it is much worse for her to describe what she calls evils without recognizing the historic factors in their development and the heroic efforts of many Hindus to correct them. To put it very mildly, it is highly unfair for Miss Mayo to fail to recognize the significance of many men and women in India during the past century of international fame in the fields of philosophy, religion, science and literature.

'No one who is intimately acquainted with the Hindu students who have come to the American colleges and universities can fail to recognize because of their high type of character, their devotion to noble ideals and their earnestness of purpose that there must be something more in India than is represented in Miss Mayo's book.'

GIVE INDIA OPPORTUNITY

The book is a hastily prepared recital of malicious stories collected on a personally conducted Cook's tour, and cunningly directed by interested bureaucrats. The author forgets, most industriously, to record that much of the ardent work of reform is, and has been, initiated and promoted by Indian leaders themselves. Remarks Doctor Weatherly with just indignation:

'But far worse is Miss Mayo's indictment of the people of India as unfit to find for themselves a way of development of their own life and culture. The only possible excuse for such an indictment is an ignorance of history. It is the language that has been used during all the ages by dominant peoples. They have always insisted that the

people they have crushed under their heels were so crushed because of their own unfitness. And they have triumphantly exhibited the mangled forms of their victims as a decisive proof of their own superiority. This has always been a very satisfactory conclusion for the ruling class. Abraham Lincoln answered it when he said that no man was born who was fit to rule another. If the experience of mankind reveals anything at all, it surely makes clear that both master and slave are corrupted morally and spiritually by their relationship. Miss Mayo's contention as to what will happen in India in the event of the cessation of British rule is a denial of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the principles which animated the lives of every heroic character in American history, and for that matter, in the history of mankind.

'The existence of poverty, ignorance and superstition in India is no more an argument for the continuation of the British Raj in India than it would have been for the continuation of negro slavery in America. The continuation of so much ignorance and poverty after one hundred years of British rule compels the reader of Miss Mayo's book to turn from her opinion as to the value of alien leadership to the fundamental ideas of democracy. The thoughtful reader of her book is forced to recognize the utter futility of an attempt to indict a whole people. He cannot find in it shred of evidence that will lead him to believe that the people of India are so unique, so different from the rest of mankind, that they are to be denied the recognition of the experience of mankind.

'The Indians' as other people will slowly but surely find their way to that opportunity which we envisage under the word democracy. No amount of the recital of existing weaknesses can deprive them of their right to hope and to strive for the opportunity to realize their own destiny by the use of such powers as they possess.'

Katherine Mayo may be a perfect Christian, but she

is most assuredly a detestable pagan. It is too bad that this American woman could not find anything better to do with herself than to go snooping and smelling India's latrines.

Americans have much to be thankful for. Each of them, it is proudly pointed out, possesses three pounds of butter and every third of them has a powder puff and a lip stick. Americans are unquestionably rich and prosperous — if not wholly worthy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERMANENT WAVE OF CRIME

American newspaper and magazine writers are prone to see the end of American paradise if it is to open to Oriental immigration. To them, Asians are a menace to American civilization which is depicted as pure and white as a lily. The flaming prophets of American racial purity draw blood-curdling pictures of Asian vice and criminality, and warn their countrymen that Asian "goblins will get us yet if we don't watch out" The fear of Oriental boggy is so persistently preached and hymned in these States that it has become almost a national article of faith. While the citizens of America are asked to shake in their shoes before the wicked inferior Asian who is sure to corrupt the purity of democratic government, it appears that they have a better reason to shiver and tremble over their own moral disintegration. Only a little while ago an American statesman described the United States as the most crime-bent nation in the world.

CRIME CENTRE OF WORLD

Stories of most revolting, diabolical crimes are reported in newspapers almost every day. A wife poisoned her husband, and now she is trying to collect Rs. 30,000 from a life insurance company in which he was insured in her favor. The policy provided

that the wife was to get Rs. 15,000 if the husband died decently in bed, but twice as much if he died by violence. The jury believes that the death was violent.

A mother in Iowa slashes her 15-day-old infant's throat and wrists with a razor, because it cried and irritated her.

A public meeting is being held in a town square of Massachusetts when a group of citizens determine to break it up. It is a battle royal in which hundreds participate. Rocks and eggs and shots are freely used. Chief of Police is overpowered by the crowd. His revolver, handcuffs, and nightstick are stolen. Policemen are shot and beaten.

Two university students of Chicago, scions of wealthy families, decide to commit a "perfect crime." They lure a little boy for a ride in their automobile, hammer his brains out in cold blood, and then throw the body of the little fellow under a culvert. An exhibition of perfect crime in "God's own country."

Down in Ohio a mother places her six-week-old son in a wash boiler she has filled with water, and lights the fire under it. Several hours later the woman's husband discovers the child boiled dead.

A young man of Illinois, veteran of the late "war for democracy," returns home one morning. The sight of his aged father makes him furious. The son straightway appeases his wrath by running a sharp bayonet through his old father.

In Detroit a mother, 32 years old, drowns three of her five children in the Detroit River shortly after

midnight and attempts to drown the other two. When attaches of the police station arrive, she is still found holding one of the little girls under the water. The mother is dragged away from the river, but the child is dead.

Two women drive into a town of South Dakota, enter a bank, and while one points a pistol at the bank cashier, the other scoops up all the money in sight. "Don't stir," the older woman orders, as she points the loaded pistol at the cashier. "I hate to take a life, but I mean business and I'll do it if I have to." The female bandits flee in a waiting motor car.

A New Yorker attacks a woman with a sledge hammer, because she would not desert her husband for him. He beats her about the head until she falls unconscious. Then he drags her downstairs to the basement and thrusts her, still living and moaning, into the blazing furnace which heats the Klus. Slamming the furnace door shut and propping a shovel against it to keep it closed, he coolly leaves the wailing woman on fire and she burns to cinders.

Extreme as some of these recent incidents are perhaps, they have their significance. They show which way the wind is blowing. They are typical of the spirit of disorderly condition in the Republic. Americans boast of having the grandest civilization in the world; but they also hold the record of being the greatest criminal nation on earth. "This country is suffering under an indictment," said Judge Alfred J. Talley of the Court of General Sessions of New York County, "which proclaims it the most lawless on earth.

You will find that the United States must plead guilty to that indictment. " This is to say that there is more crime committed in America, in proportion to population, than in England or France or Italy or Japan or any other civilized country under the sun.

Sneaks, murderers, thieves, robbers, blackmailers, speeders, professional bombers, crooks, gunmen seem to fill a dismally large part of the American picture. A gun is as common as a man's tobacco pipe or a woman's powder puff in the domestic economy of this country. Americans apparently must needs go armed constantly lest highwaymen stick them up at the point of a gun or train robbers pour them full of hot lead.

Chicago, in point of population, is the second largest city in America, and third in the world. Now the murder rate in Chicago for the current year is a little better than one a day. Last year there were 317 murders, the year before that 270. It makes Chicago 'the crime capital of America', nay, the crime capital of Christendom.

RISING TIDE OF CRIME.

This is not a temporary crime wave; it is a crime tide which has been rising progressively in the United States since the last quarter of a century. The murder rate, according to Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, the consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, has doubled in twenty-four years. The annual toll of felonious homicides in America exceeds 11,000. This is considerably more than the total number of Boers killed in their three years of war against England. During the last fifteen years, the

murder rate in this Republic has been between 80 and 100 per thousand. In Japan, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Switzerland, and Norway the murder rate runs from 3 to 9 per hundred thousand. 'A point has been reached in our national life,' says Dr. Hoffman, the most accurate authority on the subject, 'where no one is safe anywhere at any time. Murders are committed with fiendish cruelty and often with superhuman ingenuity which baffles the authorities and defeats the ends of justice'. A strange commentary upon the progress of American civilization!

According to the recent report published by the Associated Press of the United States, the toll of human life taken by motor vehicles last year in this country was at the rate of more than two for every hour in the day. 'America's death rate due to automobile accidents leads the world, being 11.8 fatalities for every 100,000 population against 5.3 in England and Wales, and 1.3 in Scotland. 4.6 in New Zealand and 3.6 in Canada during 1923. Figures for 1924 show that for 158 American cities the automobile accident death rate was 19.4 per 100,000 population, causing not less than 17,400 deaths in automobile accidents which involved railroad trains, or street cars and automobiles.'

Speed lovers obviously think more of amusement than of human life. In the City of New York, 300 children are slaughtered every year by automobiles. In Chicago, 250 children are killed annually. Thus in these two cities alone, 550 children are massacred every year by automobiles. At this rate one may

calculate that in the entire United States no less than 7,000 innocent children become victims of automobile fatalities. 'What should we say,' asks a correspondent of the *New York Nation*, 'if the Turks were to massacre 7,000 Christian children every year?'

Enormous property losses are also suffered each year by the American people through robbery. Boys and girls hold up trains with automatic revolvers. Train robberies have become so frequent, that for the past two years the Post Offices over the greater sections of the country have stopped sending registered mail by night trains. Mail coaches, even during the day time, are armed with small artillery.

Since last October the main Post Office and each of the eighty-three branches in the City of Boston have been turned into miniature fortresses with expert rifle and pistol men as guards. Post Office receipts are transported in steel-armored trucks, each manned by four men who are experts with the pistol. Every Post Office Clerk serving at an open window is armed with an army revolver. That is in Boston, 'the Athens of America,' 'the hub of the world.'

Last year six times as many people were robbed in only two American cities, Chicago and New York, as in the whole of the British Canada. 'William J. Burns, formerly head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, estimates that more than Rs. 300,000,000 a year in property is stolen from railroad, express and steamship companies and from trucks and piers,' reports a writer in the *New York Times*. 'Figures published by the American Bankers' Associa-

tion for the year ending August 31, 1922, show that among their members alone there were 136 holdups and 319 burglaries, representing a loss of Rs. 3,673,467: That means that every day in the year there is a bank robbery or holdup of importance, not to mention those committed against banks that are not members of the Association. What! America is at the mercy of crooks and thugs. Is robbery becoming an American national habit?

HORRORS OF LYNCHING

As a result of ceaseless campaign of agitation by Negroes there has been in recent years a considerable decrease of lynchings in America. Lynching, however, is not yet abolished. For thirty years prior to 1919 the average number of lynchings per year was 107. During the last five years before 1920 to 1924 the number of persons lynched was 231. Every State in the Union except four has had one or more lynchings in the past forty-years, the exceptions being Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

Making bonfires of human flesh is usually attended with circumstances of fiendish cruelty and horror. I quote the following description of a typical lynching from the *Chattanooga (Tennessee) Daily Times*, February 13, 1918 :

TORTURED AND THEN BURNED

Estill Springs Scene of Blood-Curdling Lynching
 Jim McIlherron, Negro, Executed by Masked Men
 Thousands of men, women, and children witness

proceedings, Many crying for the negro's blood - slayer of Rodgers and Tigert captured

TUESDAY

" Jim McIlherron, the negro who shot and killed Pierce Rodgers and Jessee Tigert, two white men, at Estill Springs last Friday, and wounded Frank Tigert, was tortured with a red hot crowbar and then burned to death here tonight at 7-40 by twelve masked men. A crowd of approximately 2,000 persons, among whom were women and children, witnessed the burning.

" The captors proceeded to a spot about a quarter of a mile from the railroad station and prepared the death fire. The crowd followed and remained throughout the proceedings. The negro was led to a hickory tree, to which they chained him. After securing him to the tree a fire was laid. A short distance away another fire was kindled, and onto it was put an iron bar to heat.

" When the bar became red-hot a member of the mob jabbed it toward the negro's body. Crazed with fright, the black grabbed hold of it, and as it was pulled through his hands the atmosphere was filled with the odor of burning flesh. This was the first time the murderer gave evidence of his will being broken. Scream after scream rent the air. As the hot iron was applied to various parts of his body, his yells and cries for mercy could be heard in the town.

" After torturing the negro several minutes, one of the masked men poured coal oil on his feet and trousers and applied a match to the pyre. As the flames rose, enveloping the black's body, he begged that he be shot. Yells of derision greeted his request. The angry flames consumed his clothing and little blue blazes shot upward from his burning hair before he lost consciousness. "

REMOVING BASIC CAUSES OF CRIME

This unspeakable reign of terror and lawlessness is

going on in a country which boasts of superior Christian Kultur. I do not wish to belittle the material achievements of America. Only one hundred fifty years ago, thirteen little jealous colonies on the Atlantic sea-board were still under the domination of King George. In four generations the Yankee has threaded a continent, built cities, and accumulated immense wealth. While other countries are suffering from the shortage of gold, the United States is holding four and a half billions of the world's nine billion dollars gold reserve. The material success of America, remarkable as it is, cannot be everything. Moreover, it is being overshadowed by moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Internal disorders, racial differences, and religious hatreds are on the increase. Tolerance, the truest mark of democracy and of civilization, is almost lost sight of. There must be something wrong with the Character of the American, something must have weakened the moral fibre.

Is there any way to restore the American national sanity? Are Americans so morally anemic that they are incapable of redressing the chaotic situation? Of the many remedies advocated for the reduction of crime none is heard more often than that of swifter and severer punishment. But is punishment alone a sure and a sufficient deterrent of crime? The trouble, I need hardly say, is much more deep-seated. More than half a million persons, male and female, are annually penned up in jails or reformatories in the United States. They are now building great new prisons, for "All the States are overcrowded with criminals and defectives, with the average age of prison inmates ten years below

what it was a decade ago". The present system of punishment was not seemingly reaching the heart of the problem of crime; it remains therefore a "futile exercise in despair and bad humor."

The advanced criminologists are seeking for causes of crime in emotional or psychological reactions. Dr. Max G. Schlapp, Professor of Neuropathology at the Post-graduate Medical School Hospital of New York looks upon the prevalence of crime as a symptom — along with increasing feeble-mindedness and insanity — of a basic disturbance in the nation's emotional stability.

"We are headed for a smash in this country," he says, "if we keep on the way we are going. There is a curve in the emotional stability of every people which is an index of their growth and power as a nation. On the upswing the nation expands and prospers and gains in power with the normal development of emotional life. Then comes a time when emotional instability sets in. When it reaches a certain point there is a collapse. We have almost reached that point. This emotional instability causes crime, feeble-mindedness, insanity. Criminal conduct is a pathological matter, just as is these other disorders."

I am not concerned as how America should rid itself of criminals. That is not my problem at this time. Each nation must make its own way of the crime morass as best as it can. All I have been endeavoring here to do is to indicate that in as much as America enjoys the reputation of being the crime centre

of the world, America can not afford to assume a self-righteous air. Indeed, it comes with ill grace for Americans to condemn other peoples as "vicious," "inferior," or degradingly "Asiatic."

CHAPTER IX

AMERICAN NEGROES

A little over half a century ago the American Negro was a chattel. He was as much of a property as a pile of straw, or a yoke of oxen. He could be bought and sold at will as a vegetable in market. There was an immense slave trade all through the Southern States. Here is the way a slave-dealer advertised the sale of his cargo: "Ninety negroes, just arrived from Richmond, consisting of field hands, house servants, several fine cooks, some excellent mules, and one very fine riding-horse."

COLOR CASTE

Today there is no chattel slavery in America; but even the flannel-mouthed politicians who invoke Lincoln's name as the emancipator of the slaves will admit that the Negro is not the equal of the white American. The Constitution of the United States which guarantees on paper equal rights to all citizens irrespective of race or color, seems to be down with diabetes. The South is still the formidable stronghold of violent race prejudice. Even large sections of the North, which are supposed to be liberal, have lost their fire and are down with a wasting disease.

Once a Negro, always a Negro. A colored man may be a doctor, lawyer, college professor, or business



Teaching Music at
Hampton Institute

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map; but he is not treated on a plane of political and social equality in the United States—certainly not in the South.

All through the Southern States, the Negro is subjected to segregation and racial discrimination. Southerners draw the color line at every step. The Negro must travel in a Jim Crow car, eat in a Jim Crow hotel, worship in a Jim Crow church, and be buried in a Jim Crow cemetery. The truth is that he is the American pariah. And America is so sold to race hate that it cannot face the truth.

From 1885 to 1922 there were 4,096 lynchings in the United States. Over 3,000 of the victims were Negroes. Fifty-two women were lynched. There has been a decrease in lynching in the past few years, for special reasons, particularly the exodus of Negroes from the Southern States; but nothing will stop lynching except perhaps its total abolition by an act of Congress. An anti-lynching bill was introduced in 1922. Congress rejected the bill by a stout majority. Those who voted against the antilynching bill may be unaware of any moral turpitude, but their action can only be interpreted as being in favor of allowing the lynching evil to continue indefinitely.

In this topsy-turvy American world, the twist of the hair and the color of the skin are the most important factors in life. A rich New Yorker sought to free himself of his mulatto wife this winter because she was not white enough. The high-caste New Yorker did not charge her with infidelity, cruelty or desertion, but with the crime of color. Even conjugal affection,

society demands, should be sacrificed at the altar of the modern Moloch, color prejudice.

NEGRO FORGES AHEAD

Discouraging as these conditions are, Afro-Americans are not disheartened. For one thing, they have freed themselves spiritually; they have emancipated themselves from their inferiority complex. They are not willing to be swept into the current of other racial assimilations. Indeed they are building "dykes of self-respect" around their own racial integrity.

The leaders of the Negro race have told me time and again that they are not at all sorry that they are Negroes. On the contrary, they are mightily proud of it. More, the Negro is even beginning to feel that he is in some respects superior to the white men. "Suddenly", said the author of *The New Negro—An Interpretation*, "his mind seems to have slipped from under the tyranny of social intimidation, and to be shaking off the psychology of imitation and implied inferiority." Nor is this an empty boast. The educationalist Booker T. Washington, the poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the publicist W. C. Burghardt Du Bois, Lawrence C. Jones of the Biloxie Institute, not to mention Paul Robeson and Charles Gilpin, those excellent Negro actors and singers who are interpreting Negro feeling and emotion from the stage, bear ample witness to the new path they are blazing for their race.

The advanced wing of Negroes does not want to be slapped on the back and be patronized by sentimental whites. That is as plain as pike-staff. Instead



A NEGRO LEADER
By W. F. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

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of being rejected by the traditional prejudices and misunderstandings, Negro intellectuals are meeting the problems of their own race soberly, shrewdly, and without fuss. Commenting on this new scene of Afro-Americans, a liberal white publicist observes that "the Africans are men of sense, learning and good bearing; the Caucasians are simply wind-jammers full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The inferiority complex has brought the colored race nothing but knocks and kicks. The superiority complex, only an idiot will deny, is inspiring it with self-confidence, and even extorting wholesome respect from its opponents.

The new Negro is rising, step by step, superior to the hampering influences that grew out of the slavery condition. He has already acquired a real culture. Consider, for example, the matter of education. Here are a few data as given in a recent issue of *Current History* (New York): "In 1920 there were 4,131,905 persons 10 years of age and over in the United States who were illiterate. Of this number 3,087,744 or 62.6 per cent were white and 1,872,161 or 37.4 per cent were negroes. In 1880 there had been 3,320,878 illiterates among the negroes, tantamount to a percentage of 70. To pass from illiteracy to literacy, we discover that in 1921 alone, 675 negroes received the Bachelor of Arts degree and that the total number of negro college graduates is now about 10,000. Twenty-nine negroes have won the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from standard American universities."

Statistics do not mean a great deal to layman;
10

but the significant thing is that the colored folks are commencing to understand that education implies "leads out". It leads them out of old ways into better and newer ways.

"I CAN" SPIRIT

The blacks in America are still being persecuted, tortured, and burned alive; but the "Nigger"-hating Americans are finding it increasingly difficult to show the Negro "his place". He is making his own opportunity; he is, by his own initiative and energy, building his success upon a firm, impregnable foundation.

Shortly after the Slavery War, sixty years ago, the Negro was engaged in approximately 10 different business enterprises. To day he is engaged in over 200 kinds of business enterprises. There are 100 Negro banks with aggregate resources of Rs. 60,000,000

There is hardly any profession in the United States in which the members of the black race are not represented. In 1920 there were 3,500 Negro doctors. In the same year there were 1,000 Negro lawyers, 1100 dentists, and 3,300 trained nurses.

Much good work is also being done in the field of journalism. There are 112 journals published by or for the Negro. Of this, 7 are magazines of general nature, 70 are religious, 85 devoted to education, and 220 are newspapers. This speaks something for the intellectual advance of the American Negro. He has every reason to be encouraged.

The Afro-American has not yet reached his goal; but he has traveled a long way in the path of progress



The Tuskegee Institute

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A Group of Negro University Students

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The new Negro leaders are the shock troops of the Negro uplift-movement. They are stirring the ideas of the Negro masses, who are climbing upward and onward.

For one, I surely believe that the Afro-American has made more progress along certain lines during the past sixty years than we in India, under the English rule, for a hundred. But let us not waste our time sobbing and wailing and wringing our hands. There is not really any excuse for pessimism. Because of our immeasurably greater spiritual and intellectual inheritance, we should be able to measure up to stiffer tests. Opportunity is knocking at the door of the Young India.

So close is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low "Thou must,"
The Youth replies, "I can".

CHAPTER X

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

Is capital punishment a success? Does death penalty really deter crime? Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, the foremost criminal lawyer of America, says "No". "Thou shalt not kill. I do not know where I learned it," Mr. Darrow told me with a smile. "But I must have picked it up in some bad company." Darrow makes the basis of his philosophy clear by putting in a question like this:—If it is wrong for a murderer to commit murder, is it not wrong for a state to set the example and also kill?

Mr. Darrow is a famous barrister and a deep student of human nature. He has saved upward of sixty men from the gallows. He is more than a distinguished lawyer; he is a philosopher whose long experience with human foibles and frailties has given him a rare understanding of the so-called criminal men and women. And out of that rich understanding, he has made notable contributions to the whole theory of modern crime and punishment.

This veteran lawyer has a large and busy office in Chicago. He is nearly seventy years young and is full of vitalizing fight. The American Blackstone has a picturesque personality. His deeply scamed face, marked with the lines of a crowded and exciting life,



*Clarence Darrow
with last in
Sudbury
Dec. 17th 1927*

HON. CLARENCE DARROW

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gives one the impression of a man of vast sympathy. He has a large noble head, and his face is lit with deep-seablue eyes. There is something in the man which instantly proclaims him to be sincere, tragic, tender. He has never taken a case for money against poverty. As the defense lawyer, he has never had a client go to the noose.

That crime and vice flourish in these United States to a greater extent than anywhere else in Christendom is known to every realistic student of American social life. This country leads the world with 11,000 murders a year. The government does not seem to be able, at times, to find enough cell room for offenders. The American politicians are urging that the remedy for crime lies in passing more laws, and the harsher they are the better. Indeed, the authorities in their anxiety to suppress crime are finding trouble in making prison construction keep up with law-making. Legislative mills and jail architects are terribly busy in the Republic of the Free.

The press and the pulpit are raging with the frenzied shouts of the bloodthirsty. City after city, county after county, is putting up scorching rewards for each dead robber, no matter by whom killed, whether by policeman or citizen. Newspapers are full of notices of rewards for bandits, dead or alive, preferably dead. The Chicago and Cook County Bunkers' Association has offered a tempting reward of seventy-five hundred rupees for each dead bandit. In Milwaukee the Clearing House Association has also offered seventy-five hundred rupees for a dead bandit, and only three thousand

rupees for one taken alive. Beloit, Wisconsin, has promised to pay three thousand rupees for each burglar killed robbing a bank. A number of counties in Indiana have also come forward with a similar big cash bounty. America seems to be enjoying a spell of head hunting; but will that prevent crime? Is it not a fact that the criminal who knows he may be shot on sight will keep himself ready to shoot first?

Clarence Darrow says that Americans are a ferocious people. He is sternly opposed to exacting the death penalty for homicides. It is his conviction that hanging or electrocuting a man does not check crime. It merely takes life, and takes it needlessly. The murderer, he points out, does not think of the consequences before or even during the commission of the crime. It is only after the act is committed, when he finds himself pursued, or confronted with the trial judge, that he begins to realize the actuality of the hangman's noose. Death penalty does not deter crime, but brutalizes and hardens the public.

Mr. Darrow is recognized as the most powerful underminer of the current theory of punishment. In insisting upon the futility of hanging, Mr. Darrow digs out some very interesting facts from history. He reminds us that there were in England about a century ago two hundred offenses, from petty larceny and differences of religious views to treason, which were punishable with death. The death sentence was passed upon children under ten years old. I remember reading somewhere that in the early part of the nineteenth century three English boys — aged eight, nine, and

ton — were hanged for stealing a pair of shoes, and that this was not at all unusual. The English government was ultimately forced to abandon death sentence for trivial offenses. "The English people strangely found out that so fast as they repealed the severe penalties and so fast as they did away with pun-hung men by death, crime decreased instead of increased; that smaller the penalty the lower the crimes."

The point that Darrow reiterates is that capital punishment has never proved to be an effective deterrent. "Even in the days when pocket picking was a capital crime in England, gentlemen of this profession did not hesitate to ply their trade upon the crowds assembled to witness executions. At the hanging of two pickpockets 10 arrests were made for the same offense. The chaplain of Newgate prison at that time is quoted as having been told by a pickpocket that executions were the best harvests he and his associates had, for when the eyes of the spectators are fixed above, their pockets are unprotected below."

This brings us to the fundamental question: What is crime? Darrow maintains with convincing logic that crime has no necessary connection with morality. Worse, what goes by the name of morals is merely blind obedience to words of command. Crime is an act forbidden by the law of the land and one which is considered sufficiently serious to warrant providing penalties for its commission. It does not necessarily follow that this act in itself is either good or bad. The punishment follows for the violation of the law, and not necessarily any moral transgression. "Punishment as

"we know it and practise it," remarks Darrow, "is just simply cruelty plus self-righteousness. It is ferocious and it is also futile."

Clarence Darrow is not a Christian; but he draws many illustrations from the history of Christianity itself to drive his argument home. Centuries ago, he calls to our mind, Christianity was anathema and being a Christian was a crime punished by death. "Christianity was brought into the Roman empire as rum is today brought into the United States. It was smuggled in." The smuggled missionary was boiled in oil or fed to the wild beasts for teaching the doctrines of the humble Nazarene. The persecutions of the Christians were considered necessary by the Roman government for the so-called law enforcement. The gory butcherings of Christian men and women in the amphitheatres were the delight of the old Roman holiday. And just as killing Christians did not check the spread of Christianity, so hanging murderers does not check the crime. The Darrow argument takes off the edge of the infallibility of law. There is newer and more scientific remedy for crime, Darrow says.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that capital punishment has been abolished in the following 12 states of the American Union: Michigan, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Arizona, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Oregon, and Washington. Death penalty is still retained in 36 States. "All of them punish the crime of first degree murder with death. Only in 12, however, is the death penalty inflicted arbitrarily on all persons convicted of

the crime." The other 24 give the jury of the court in almost all cases, the power to fix the sentence of either death or life imprisonment."

In the dozen States where hanging is abolished, legal murder by court is regarded by public opinion as condemnable and wrong as a premeditated murder by a private individual.

Capital punishment breeds murder by making human life cheap. Statistics prove that in capital punishment States, murder crimes are more prevalent than in states where the death penalty has been done away with. What can be more convincing from this than that capital punishment causes and encourages murder, the very thing it is intended to reduce?

Though bitterly and utterly opposed to all creeds and dogmas, Darrow is a man of religion. His is the religion of humanity. It teaches him to trust man. It also teaches him that man is not free; "man is an animal whose acts and whose thoughts are as irresponsible, as much coerced into being by circumstances, as the claws of the tiger or the thunders of an avalanche." According to Darrow, the doctrine of free will is "the cruelest superstition that ever afflicted mankind."

In his most brilliant essay on Omar Khayyam, Darrow develops his theory to prove that people are not morally responsible. The so-called sins of man are not crimes, but weaknesses inherent in their being and beyond their power to prevent or overcome. Man can not separate himself from all the rest of nature. The rules and conditions of his being are

fixed and absolute as the revolutions of the planets and the changing seasons of the year.

Darrow sees a close parallel between man and the pottery fashioned by the moulder from the clay. Perhaps there is no better illustration of the helplessness of the human being in the hands of the power that fashioned and shaped him, even ages before his birth, — the uncontrollable force that determined the length of his body, the color of his hair, the size and shape of his brain and the contour of his face."

The fixity of human fate is the tap root of Darrow's philosophy. Here it is in his own words :

"The world has grown a little wiser, and perhaps humaner, as the centuries have passed away. We have learned to build asylums, and treat the afflicted with tenderness and care. We have learned not to blame the dwarf for his stature, the hunchback for his load; the deaf because they cannot hear; and the blind because they cannot see. We do not expect the midget to carry the giant's load, or the cripple to triumph in a contest of speed. We establish a regulation size for policemen and soldiers, but we do not put a man to death because his stature is below the standard fixed. We forgive the size of the foot, the length of the arm, the shade of the hair, the color of the eye, and even the form of the skull. But, while we do not blame a man because he has an ill-shaped head, we punish him because the brain within conforms to the bone which molds its form. The world has made guns and swords, racks and dungeons, chains and whips, blocks and gibbets, and to these have dragged an endless procession through all the past. It has penned and maimed, tortured and killed, because the potter's work was imperfect and the clay was weak. During all the ages it has punished mental deformity as a crime, and without pity or regret has crushed the imperfect vessels beneath its feet. Every jail,

every scaffold, every victim — is a monument to its cruelty and blind unreasoning wrath. Whether it was a fire kindled to burn a heretic in Geneva, — a gibbet erected to kill a witch in Salem, — or a scaffold made to put to death an ordinary 'criminal', it has ever been the same, — the punishment of the creature for the creator's fault. There might be some excuse if man could turn from the frail, cracked vessels, and bring to trial the great potter for the imperfect work of his hand."

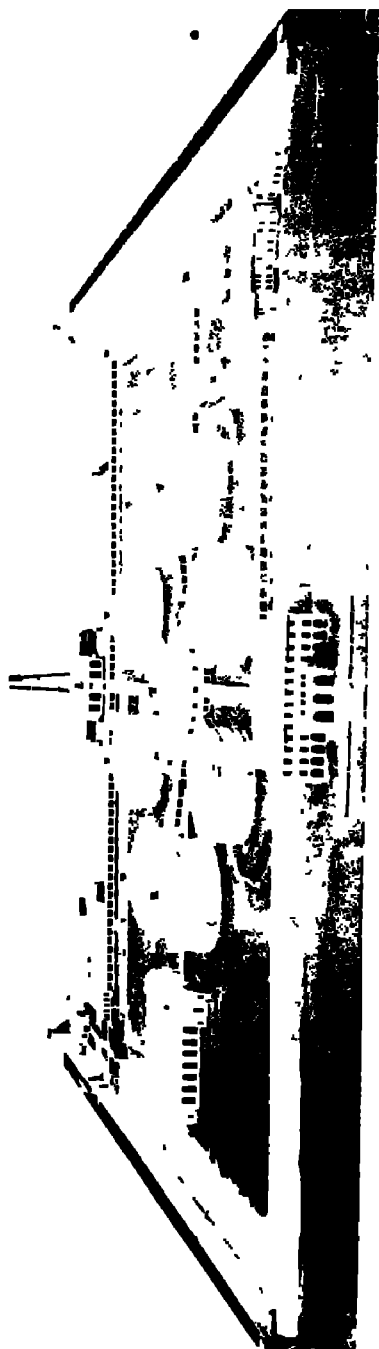
Darrow persuades a jury that his client was not "free". His client was compelled, overwhelmed, and overpowered by forces within him and without him, infinitely stronger than himself. The learned lawyer seldom tries to prove that his client is innocent. He only tries to show the jury why the client did what he did, and he has always succeeded with the court in saving his life. The backbone of the mediaeval conception of law and punishment is slowly, but surely being pulverized.

It has been ascertained that ninety per cent of all murders for which the death penalty is imposed in America are committed by the poor, and mainly by the young. Clarence Darrow says that the rich do not die for their crimes, but that the poor being unable to hire first class lawyers, furnish the largest number of consignees to the death calls. Darrow himself has always been genuinely* interested in the poor. During forty years of practice half of his cases were gratis, and one-third of the time of every man in his office was devoted to the defense of those who cannot pay. Darrow is indeed a friend of the poor.

He intimates that most of our criminal code con

sists in offenses against property. Men are sentenced to jail because they have committed a crime against property. "People find all sorts of way of getting rich", remarked Darrow in an address delivered to the prisoners in the Chicago County Jail. "These are diseases like everything else. You look at people getting rich, organizing trusts, and making a million dollars, and somebody gets the disease and he starts out. He catches it just as a man catches the mumps or the measles; he is not to blame, it is in the air. You will find men speculating beyond their means, because the mania of money-getting is taking possession of them. It is simply a disease; nothing more, nothing less. You cannot avoid catching it; but the fellows who have control of the earth have advantage of you. See what the law is: when these men get control of things, they make the laws. They do not make the laws to protect anybody; courts are not instruments of justice; when your case gets into court it will make little difference whether you are guilty or innocent; but it is better if you have a smart lawyer unless you have money. First and last it's a question of money. These men who own the earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence or pen around what they have, and they fix the law so the fellow on the outside cannot get in. The laws are really organized for the protection of the men who rule the world. They were never organized or enforced to do justice. We have no system for doing justice, not the slightest in the world."

Property is our God — very God of very God.



Illinois State Prison

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Nothing is allowed to disturb this divinity. But a crime against property is not morally wrong. Explained Mr. Darrow:

"For instance: to take all the coal in the United States and raise the price two dollars or three dollars when there is no need of it, and thus kill thousands of babies, and send thousands of people to the poorhouse and tens of thousands to jail, as is done in the United States every year -- this is a greater crime than all the people in our jails ever committed, but the law does not punish it. Why? Because the fellows who control the earth make the laws. If you and I had the making of laws, the first thing we would do would be to punish the fellow who gets control of the earth."

One of the ways to abolish crime and criminals, Darrow holds, is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Abolish monopoly. Make the world partners in production, in all the good things of the world.

His main thesis, after all, is that man is the creature of heredity and environment. "Picture this poor man," said Mr. Darrow to the jury in pleading for one of his clients, "as one adrift on a rowboat, on the sea of elemental emotion. The sea overwhelmed him, as it has overwhelmed many another, and he sank. He was poor, helpless victim of environment and heredity and the passion that has driven men mad since Cleopatra's day." Man has will to be sure; but the will is merely the agency of his heredity and his environment. He has little or no choice. The person that we call criminal is so for the same reason that a lion is ferocious and a horse is docile.

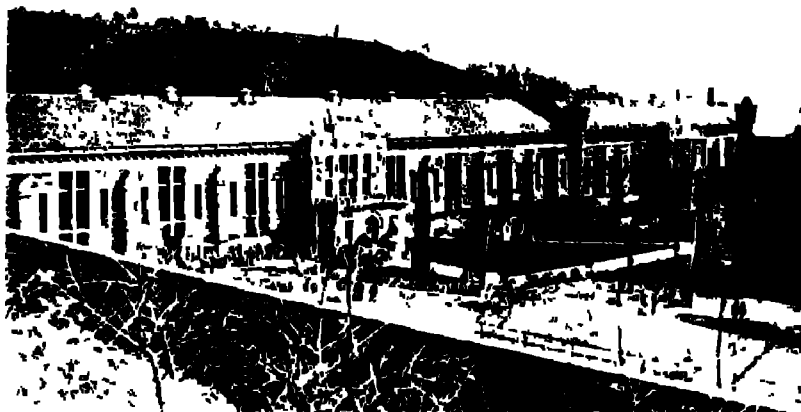
Crime may be considered as a disease. The criminal is "the sick man of society": a mentally diseased, unbalanced or insane person. moreover, there is no sudden criminality just as there is no sudden insanity. The causes which make a man criminal or crazy have somewhere a beginning. These causes may be embryological, anatomical, psychological, or environmental. Not all the wishywashy legal gargling in the world can remove them. We should seek to understand and correct, and not slay the criminal. Capital punishment is a relic of barbarism.

Clarence Darrow is not alone in his advocacy of the abolition of capital penalty. Many eminent criminologists, psychologists, and psycho-analysts in America condemn the execution of criminals, whom they regard as mentally or emotionally defective, fit only for medical and scientific treatment.

At the last National Conference on the Science of Politics, it was stated that time has come when judges should be judged. They are commonly chosen from the ranks of good legal debaters and "the purpose of science is the exact opposite of the purpose of debate". There must be scientific means of judging the judges. Professor L. L. Thurston of the University of Chicago suggested that before appointment, would-be judges should be subjected to psychological tests to determine their judicial mindedness. A novel proposal, perhaps; but the moral is that the public should cease to regard judges as demi-gods or allow them to set themselves up as such.

Mr. Darrow rejects capital punishment entirely.

Recreation Yard Cell House 41 and 44 Iowa State Penitentiary



• To face page 86

He would substitute in its place indeterminate sentence. Those who improve should be released. Those who are found incapable of improvement should never be released. In any case the improvement should be brought about through education, scientific analysis, suggestion, and — to use a good Buddhist word — loving-kindness.

CHAPTER XI

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS OF TODAY

Americans are great consumers of newspapers. There are approximately 11,000 weekly and semi-weekly newspapers, and 2,500 daily papers in the United States.

One of the persistent superstitions in India is that all American journals are unusual, abnormal and indecently sensational. A foolish superstition. That there is a certain type of yellow journals which specialize in sensational crime news with lurid details is very true. But it is wrong to infer that every newspaper office in the Republic likes to have a daily dish of dirt and sewage.

"The American newspapers are the best in the world," declared President Coolidge recently. If they were all vicious, Dr. Glenn Frank, the President of the great University of Wisconsin, would not have told his students that one of the best ways to acquire a good education is to study newspapers. According to this eminent leader of education, intelligent reading of a good American daily is a liberal education. "Graduate from your daily newspaper." is his considered advice.

SUPERIOR AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

Some of the American papers may be coarse, shoddy and sordid; but all in all, they compare well with the

journals of other countries. Take, for instance, the English press which in uninformed circles is cracked up to be incomparable. The fact is, reports the Vice-President of the distinguished Baltimore *Sun* "the paper with the largest circulation in England is just as sensational and as bad as we have here in America. The worst of theirs are slightly more rotten than the worst of ours." Which is true. There are doubtless a few high-grade papers in England; but the number of first-class journals in America is much larger than anywhere else on the globe.

Then, too, in the United States, publishers lay stress upon printing a great range of news in an impartial way. Over in England, I found that propaganda is, more or less, a lie. Some of the articles published in English dailies are plain unadulterated advertising, and others are colored by gross political bias.

Just recently the *China Press*, an American newspaper of Shanghai, charged Reuter's with suppressing important news from America regarding China. Reuter's is the principle source of foreign news in China, as in India. This agency was accused of eliminating messages from speeches by the President of the United States, which disclosed the American policy favorable to China. Reuter's, as India knows from bitter experience, is at times incapable of sending news uncolored by its opinions. Reuter's is the most important news agency in the island of Great Britain. And this is the country whose editorial writers constantly tell India to imitate English papers.

It may be unpalatable to certain critics, but

America is the only country in the world whose papers and news agencies send reporters out at great expense to find out the truth. Realizing that the only foreign news which they can rely upon is the kind which they get from their American trained reporters, many of the big American newspapers maintain their own foreign news service at an enormous outlay of money. When the Chinese political drama was at its height a short time ago, *The New York Times* was spending for months three thousand rupees a day in cable tolls for Chinese news from its correspondent.

What strikes an observer about the English newspapers is the preponderance of non-news articles. "Scoops" seldom figure in English journalism. I do not deny that editors of the best London papers are for the most part civilized. At least half a dozen that I can name off-hand are polite, scholarly and competent. I regard them highly - that is, their dolorous sapience if not their sense of news values. The papers they edit are opinion sheets rather than newspapers. The American newspaper of today, which sees the world with realistic eyes, is built around the theory that it should print "all news that is fit to print." An average American paper prints more news in a single day than does a British in a whole week. My hat is off to the Yankee press.

I should be allowing my enthusiasm for the American press to run to fanaticism if I maintained that American journals make no errors. They do. So does every other business or profession. Sometimes an error will slip through, but not very often. The

newspapers of this country have voluntarily adopted a code of ethics which compares favorably with those of the medical, legal, and other self-respecting professions. Those who take pains to get the whole truth will find that the standards of the majority of American papers and ideals of the most American newspaper men are high.

SERVICE TO COMMUNITY

American papers are propitious. Some of the larger ones in metropolitan cities have enormous circulation, all the way from half a million to well over a million.

A significant phase of American journalism is the consolidation of a large number of newspapers during the past few years. Owing to the great increase in the cost of production, many of the most well-known journals of the country have either died or combined with others. Nevertheless it can hardly be said that America is able to match the press trust of either Germany or England.

Statistics show that only 212 of about 2,500 daily newspapers of this country are owned in groups or strings. The Scripps-Howard Syndicate owns a chain of newspapers numbering about thirty, while Mr. Hearst runs about twenty-four newspapers. The Scripps papers are to be found in smaller towns, and the Hearst papers in the larger centers of population. In terms of circulation, Mr. Hearst's string is the largest. The Hearst newspapers have a total daily circulation of about 3,250,000 copies, or about ten per cent of the total for the 2,500 newspapers.

To be sure American papers are money-makers, and are not devoted exclusively to humanitarian ideas and altruistic ends. Most of them, however, have public service as their goal.

Here I indulge in no idle theorizing. Examples are plentiful, and I shall point to a few. When a disastrous cyclone or a devastating earthquake brings havoc in its train, enterprising newspapers are always among the first to organize relief and rush food, clothing and medicine to the stricken communities.

There is scarcely a city of any considerable size, where local papers do not provide every summer free outing camps for poor boys and girls, or furnish free milk and ice to the slum population.

The main revenue of every newspaper comes from the sale of advertising space; but very few of the decent journals will accept questionable advertisements. Time and again I found in pre-prohibition days American newspapers, which stood for prohibition, refusing all matter advertising the sale of liquor.

Every year in the fall when schools and colleges open after summer vacation, newspapers up and down the country start information bureaus for prospective students. The bureaus give authoritative information about educational institutions "without charge or obligation of any kind."

Just now an outstanding paper in the farming-belt of the United States has organized a Farm Research Bureau of its own to help solve some of the pressing agricultural problems of the region. The paper has

engaged a corps of specialists to travel the country and analyze the farming situation. Some of the purposes of the Research Bureau, which will indicate the extent and scope of this particular kind of public service, are outlined as follows :

“ To study the general agricultural problems and the various remedies as they are advanced and to present them, shorn of propaganda.

“ To make original seasonal surveys of farming in the middle west and of general conditions as they relate to agriculture, business, industry, buying power, general well being and politics, for politics and economics are closely enmeshed.

“ To make a study of crops during the season on the farm and of new tendencies and practices in agriculture, marketing, the use of machinery, diversification, the shift in crops and kindred subjects.

“ To present first hand information on the vital subject of roads and on farmers' highway transportation problems, motorization of the farm, recreational developement and the best routes and the condition of the concrete and gravel trails.

“ To analyze the railroad situation from time to time, especially with reference to its bearing on agriculture and transportation of the crops. ”

The typical American newspaper is something more than a newspaper — an institution. Because of its passion to serve, this institution is a prime force in American society.

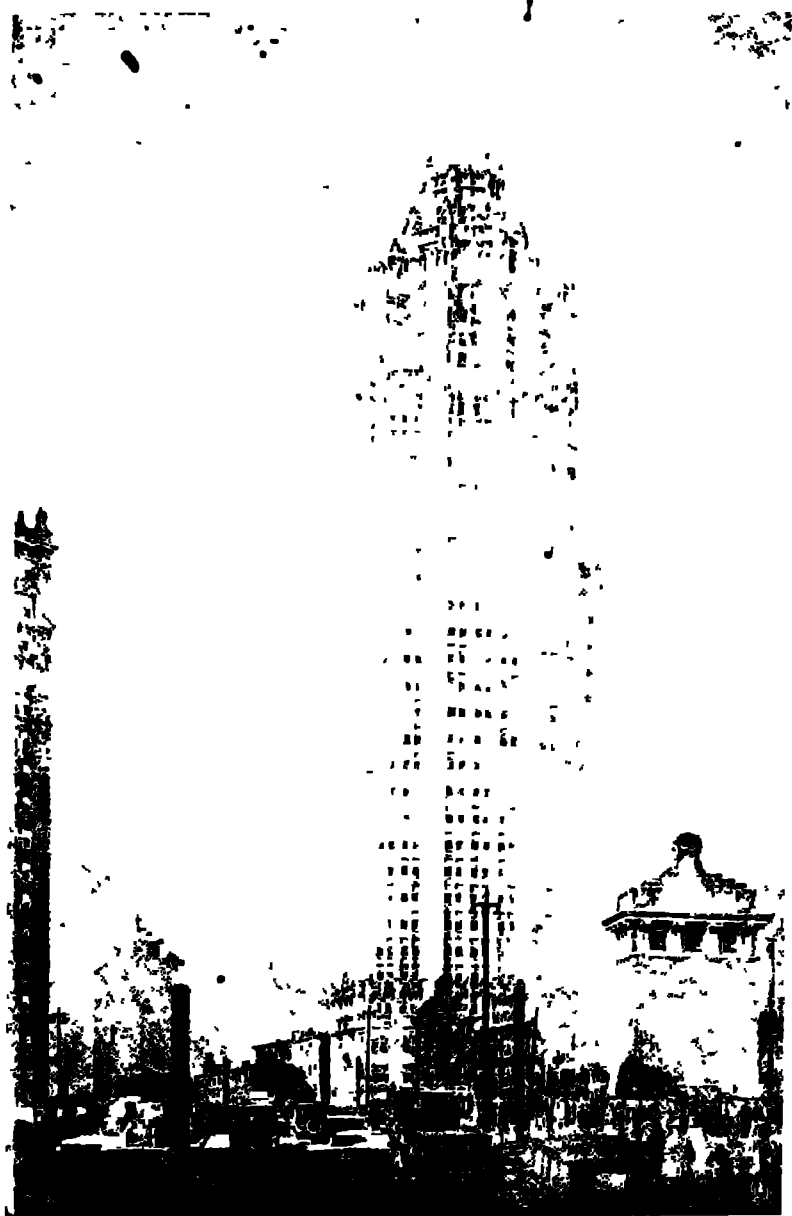
CHAPTER XII

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

The first thing which an editor must look for is news. There is a great disposition in some quarters to say that newspapers ought to limit the amount of news that they print; that certain kinds of news ought not to be published. I do not know how that is. I am not prepared to maintain any abstract proposition in that line; but I have always felt that whatever the Divine Providence permitted to occur, I was not too proud to report :— Charles Dana.

As one approaches the famous Michigan Boulevard of Chicago, he sees the gigantic Tribune Tower soaring to a dizzying height against the gray skyline. It is a thirty-six story skyscraper, a vision of strength and dignity, a majestic creation of Gothic beauty. The structure has been described by a poetic soul as “a flower in stone and steel, of perfect architectural beauty.” The Tower, the new home of *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, is perhaps the most beautiful modern building on this continent. It was built at a cost of nearly twenty-six million rupees. The only other serious rival of *The Chicago Daily Tribune* building is *The new York Times* building, which is nineteen stories high with three below street level.

. A few feet above the Tower's corner-stone, which



TRIBUNE TOWER
The administration building
of
"The Chicago Tribune"

is visible at the main entrance, is carved on stone this sentence from Milton's *Areopagitica*: Give me liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to my conscience, above all other liberties.

A TRIP OF INSPECTION

The different floors of the building can be quickly reached by three banks of lifts, which are called in America, elevators. Four cars run from the first to the twelfth floor, five cars from the first to the twenty-fourth, and one car from the twenty-fourth to the thirty-third floor. They travel at the speed of eight hundred feet a minute. All the elevators are equipped with an automatic electric device which enables the operators by means of push buttons not only to stop the cars, but open and close the gates.

A tour of inspection through the Tribune Tower will impress the visitor that it is one of the most perfectly equipped newspaper plants in America. The boiler room, the paper storage rooms, where paper is received by freight cars at the door from *The Tribune* forests and *The Tribune* paper mills in Canada, and the press rooms occupy five floors underground.

The thirty-two members of the editorial department occupy the twenty-fourth floor. Here in the office of one of the chief editors is carved above a massive mantel-piece a definition of the modern newspaper's obligation and opportunity. This definition, which was composed by a *Tribune* editor, reads;

The newspaper is an Institution developed by modern civilization to present the News of the day, to

foster Commerce and Industry, to inform and lead Public Opinion, and to furnish that check upon Government which no constitution has ever been able to provide.

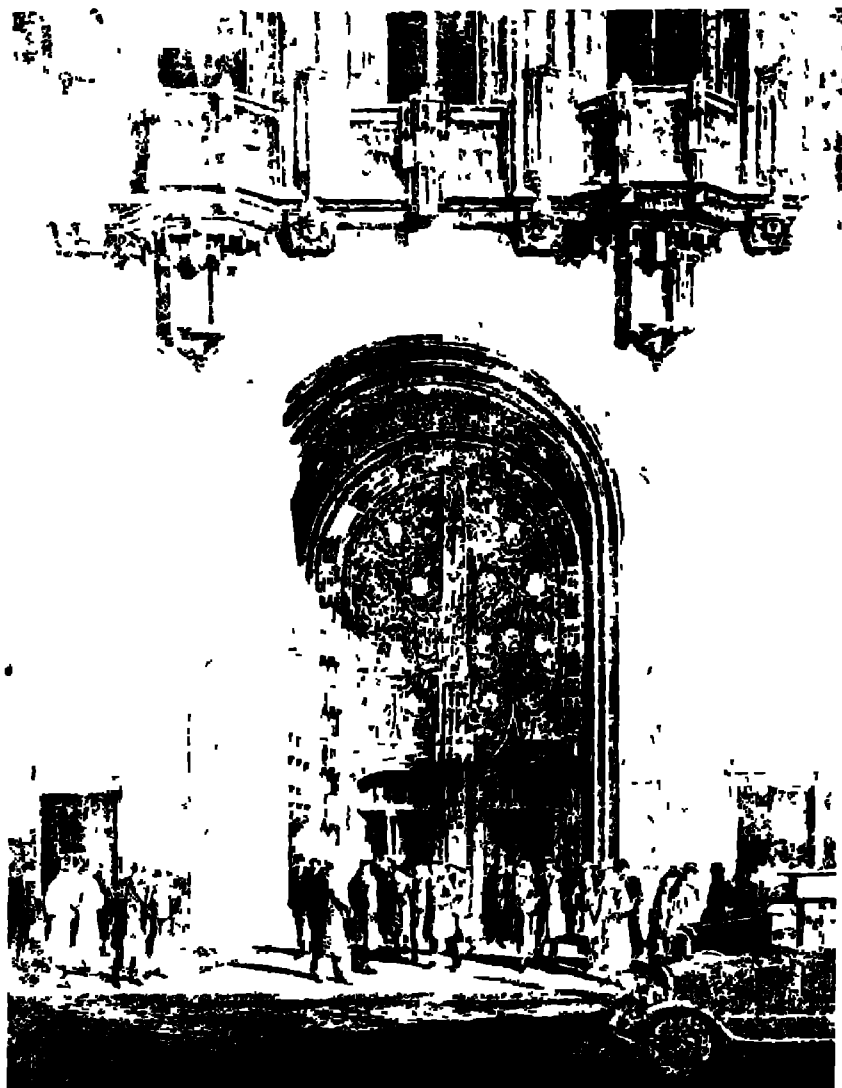
On the thirty-second floor is installed the studio of the world-renowned cartoonist, John T. McCutcheon. Many souvenirs and art treasures adorn his working quarters. On the walls are the heads of wild animals he killed in Africa, a flag of a Spanish ship captured by Americans in war with Spain, an American flag used by war correspondents in that same war. A good story goes with almost every souvenir which is to be found in Mr. McCutcheon's studio.

An observatory is erected on the thirty-fifth floor, which is open to visitors from nine in the morning to five in the evening. The observatory is the highest accessible point in Chicago. It commands an inspiring panoramic view of the city, Lake Michigan, and the States across the lake, a sea of sweet water over which the Tower "looks after, a beacon and a benediction".

The building is a veritable city in itself. Each section, with the exception of eleven floors which are rented to private companies, is devoted to a special department of the paper. The third floor is taken up by the composing room. The fourth is given to the news department and syndicates. The fifth, sixth and seventh are all occupied by the auditor's and controller's departments. The eighth, ninth, and tenth go to advertising.

ENORMOUS ACTIVITY HIGHLY ORGANIZED

One of my earliest jobs in America was that of a



ENTRANCE, TRIBUNE TOWER

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printer. Our small "print office" was one of the sleepiest-looking places in town. The old broken-down press could hardly turn out 1,000 copies an hour. Now the press machinery has developed so rapidly that today huge presses, such as *The Tribune* uses, can print whole editions of 100,000 copies or more in an hour's time. It is the science and organization, applied to newspaper making, which have made *The Chicago Tribune* one of the foremost publications of the country. The circulation of this paper is over 650,000 during week-days and 1,000,000 Sundays.

The Tribune was started a little over 75 years ago as a provincial sheet. It is today a ranking journal of the world. Indeed it is one of the biggest money-making papers of America, and sees no reason to apologize for its financial success.

The Chicago Daily Tribune has for its subtitle, "the world's greatest newspaper" — a claim hard to concede. There is, however, no denying that in its domestic and world-wide foreign news service, it stands high among the leading newspapers of the world.

Reorganizing that news is the newspaper's most important commodity, *The Tribune* goes to any length of effort and expense to get news, foreign or domestic. It maintains in foreign lands an army of thirty-six correspondents on its pay-roll. Some of these correspondents in important posts have secretaries, assistants, and local representatives to insure covering the field adequately. Large offices are maintained in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Dublin, Peking, and Manila. In each of these bureaus several correspondents make their

headquarters. "Upon orders from the European director, or from the home office", explained a member of the staff, "these correspondents rush from place to place by trains, autos, and frequently by airplanes, wherever news is breaking. Their stories are telephoned or telegraphed to their individual headquarters and then are relayed to Chicago via cable or wireless as speedily as possible. Wherever news is to be found in the world, there also may be found a Tribune man or a Tribune connection."

This enterprising Chicago journal has recently started what is known as *The Chicago Tribune - Ocean Times*. It is circulated on twenty-nine leading ocean liners at sea. The ocean-going newspaper is a morning journal, reaching all first and second class passengers as they sit down at their breakfast table. Into it goes the summarized result of the vast newsgathering resources of *The Chicago Tribune*, its Paris edition—a large newspaper in itself—and the news gathered by the *Wireless Press*.

The Chicago Tribune receives the greatest share of its revenue from the advertisers, of course. The paper maintains a staff of seven copy writers and sixteen artists for the benefit of advertisers. The Copy Art Service includes merchandising counsel, the writing of copy, the creation of illustrations, and other necessary details which go with the preparation of advertising. Last year the Copy and Art service department prepared 2,500,000 lines of advertising.

1. In the American newspaper language, anything printed in a paper, excepting editorial, is a story.

The Tribune in its editorial policy is aggressive, militant, and 100 per cent American. Its most cherished ideals are the ideals of American heroism, of American manhood and womanhood. It has no patience with maudlin sentiments of internationalism. It is an organ of vigorous, red-blooded, two-fisted nationalism. It hates foreigners, especially Asians, as a holy Christian hates the devil. On the top-mast of the editorial column, the Chicago paper has nailed for all time this quotation from Stephen Decatur: "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

In this connection mention should be made of the Medill School of Journalism established by *The Chicago Tribune*, and named for the distinguished founder of the Chicago daily, Mr. Joseph Medill. The School aims to promote a progressive journalism through its contacts with Chicago newspapers and to equip its students with a liberal education. Among the advantages and opportunities offered by the Medill School of Journalism, especial attention is called to the following:

"The school is so situated that students have close contact with the invigorating life of a large metropolis, a city rapidly becoming the literary, scientific and publishing center of the United States. These publishing houses and newspaper plants open a field for practical investigations, embodying the most forward looking phases of journalism. In the varied life of

the city, there is "copy" of all kinds for the apprentice reporter.

"The school levies upon Chicago newspapers and houses for its instructors. The majority of the staff of the School occupies important posts in newspaper offices. These men have access to professional material and are in step with the best daily practice.

"Because of the professional point of view of instructors who come from the shop to the School, the Medill School of Journalism has developed two unique teaching systems — the laboratory and workshop methods. In the laboratory classes students work under conditions similar to those in a newspaper office and are held to the same professional standards as reporters, copy — readers and editors. The classes that employ this method are: Newspaper Reporting and Writing, News Editing, and Chicago Newspaper Laboratory. The workshop method is the conference approach combined with the lecture system. This is used in such classes as Editorial Writing, Feature Writing, Short Story Writing."

A successful practitioner of journalism is not one who trades only in words. He must have an intellectual background, an equipment of ideas and ideals. To this end, the Medill School requires of its students two years of the college work in such subjects as politics, economics, English literature, history, science, sociology, psychology. The professional courses in newspaper making are built upon this preliminary foundation of a broad general education. Students on the completion of their work at the Medill School

of Journalism receive the degree of Bachelor of Science in Journalism.

Indians who wish to enter this school can get detailed information by writing to Professor H. F. Harrington, Director of the Medill School of Journalism, Chicago, Illinois.

HIGH CALLING OF JOURNALISM

Schopenhauer, who is sometimes scoffed as a cynic, said "that journalism was derived from the French word *jour*, a day, and therefore that a journalist is nothing but a day laborer, anyhow." In India our newspaper men, though not exactly on the same level with the humble coolie class, have not yet attained a sense of essential dignity of journalism. This will probably come with better training and increasing financial independence. It is the hope of the directors of American schools of journalism that their graduates will look upon journalism not as a trade or a game, but as an honorable profession.

Mr. Robert M. Lee, city editor of *The Chicago Tribune*, gave an address to the students of the Medill School of Journalism on the high mission of an educated journalist. I make a few extracts from this address showing the attitude of "the world's greatest newspaper" toward newspaper work:

• "News is a record of action.

"If you will examine this definition in all its faces, I think that some day you may come to some understanding of the business of newspapers. You must become competent to set down a record and you must become competent to judge of what is an action fit to be recorded. A great

many times you will be tempted to record something which you really believe ought to be the truth. But what ought to be the truth and what is the truth provokes a discussion that is likely to give you a great deal of concern.

"The newspaper business is a game of eternal youth. It wants snap and action. It reflects the growing world, not the middle-aged, sagging, comfortable world that has retired on a competence, or the decayed, woeful world that is standing on a street corner begging for alms.

"The moment you regard the human race as a finished product you have quit newspapering and you are making your will. The newspaper is unlike almost any other business and yet nothing is quite so symbolic of the changing world. Each newspaper day is a complete cycle. Each twenty-four hours tells its story, banks the fire in the furnace, winds the clock and goes to bed. Nothing is so old, so stale, so tasteless to the newspaper man as yesterday's newspaper.

"The news room lives for today. It is this eternal youth of the newspaper that makes the dangerous rainbow of color and atmosphere. You often are likely to hear such esthetic locutions as the 'urge' and the 'fascination of the life they lead,' the 'thrill' and 'excitement.' If you are given to thinking of these things, forget them. They are for romantic laymen. You cannot be the scenery and the the audience too.

"The newspaper business is a serious affair. It deals intimately every day with the serious concerns of millions of people. Don't get the idea that it is conducted by a collection of irresponsibles who go charging about without mode or reason to publish, at a prodigious cost, inconsequential and childlike utterances. Every person on a newspaper has a direct mission and purpose. Everyone is under direction. There are no sacred cattle with divine license to ignore authority. Every act on a newspaper is done by delegated authority.

• "Stories are not printed without investigation. Even in the face of investigation there are mistakes. But that is because human judgment errs. Hardly any two persons can see the same event alike. That is why the newspaper requires trained minds with a capacity for patient inquiry and sound decision. You may not write what you think. You must write what you find."

CHAPTER XIII

A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN EDITOR

Why do capable journalists, both in India and America, flock to large cities ? Why don't they stay in small towns and help spread the light among the common people they spring from ? Do country towns offer no opportunity to a writing man ?

I had recently the pleasure of meeting an American journalist of the very front rank, who has made a great reputation in a small community of the hinterland. Indeed, he is one of the outstanding personalities in American journalism. What he says in his country paper soon finds its way into the large metropolitan press. His editorials and articles are widely copied and stolen. To his ordinary looking country town newspaper office telegrams come, day and night, from great papers of cities asking for his views on questions of moment. Big cities have tried in vain to lure him with enticing offers into metropolitan journalism. Remaining in his quiet little town of ten thousand inhabitants, he dug up a mine of gold in his own dooryard: the paper has produced a comfortable fortune for him. He is the son of the people. His townsmen worship him. Cabinet ministers and Presidents of the United States come to visit him.

• Mr. William Allen White, editor and owner of the



MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

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Emporia Gazette of Emporia, Kansas, is a prominent figure among practicing newspapermen of America. A member of the journalistic fraternity has called him "the small town combination of Moses and Talleyrand Peter the Great and Confucius." There may be some truth in that — one cannot always be sure. To call him a Confucious would be perhaps to overwork the adjective. But he is a connoisseur of public life. I have known political practitioners to agree that White, this rural editor, is indubitably a great leader in the field of public opinion. He is a man of much influence and assured position. He is as forceful and pungent a writer as sits in an editorial chair on this continent.

William Allen White is a plump, round-faced man, with thin graying hair. He meets you with a disarming smile and steady eye. A progressive he calls himself, but comfortable liberal is what others think of him.

"Is money the highest reward of journalism?" I asked Mr. White.

"Money has never meant much to me," he replied with a twinkle in his china-blue eyes. "It has come easy and gone easy. I never had a wrangle of more than three minutes with any human being about any broken contract or anything involving money. The *Gazette* grew from a paper with four hundred circulation, which I bought for thousand dollars (nine thousand rupees) to a paper of over six thousand circulation which I could sell for a quarter of a million dollars, chiefly because I was industrious, tried to be fairly courageous, reasonably honest, and I hope in the main, humanly decent to my neighbors." Industry,

courage, honesty, and humanity ! These are the qualities which have established the White formula of success.

William Allen White has had many obstacles to hurdle in the race of life. He told the interviewer in his famous genial manner how he began his newspaper life as a printer's "devil", and advanced step by step through various jobs from the composing room to the editorial department as reporter and editor, and finally business manager and owner. Journalism is now one of the most respectable and paying professions in America; but at the time Mr. White entered it the newspapers of the smaller towns had the status of polite beggary. The story of his rise is a brave tale.

Having acquired some practical newspaper experience in a number of towns, he made his unpretentious debut over thirty years ago at Emporia, which was then a small village. When he landed there, his assets amounted to five rupees, a world of nerve, and astonishing conversational ability. With only an honest face and a liberal supply of promises, he maneuvered loans totaling nine thousand rupees. With this he took over the ownership of the *Emporia Gazette*.

Fearless presentation of facts, and a vigorous salty habit of phrasing which catches and holds attention, have made his editorials outstanding. His common-sense outlook on newspaper work is contained in his very first editorial in the *Gazette* :

"In the first place the new editor hopes to live here until he is the old editor, until some of the visions which rise before him shall have come true. He hopes always to sign

'from Emporia' after his name when he is abroad. ... He expects to perform all the kind offices of the country editor in this community for a generation to come. His relations with the people of this town are to be close and personal.

If the good people care for a fair, honest home paper that will stand for the best that is in the town — here it is. In the meantime I shall hustle advertising, job work, and subscriptions, and write articles and 'telegraph' twelve hours a day in spite of my ideals. The path of glory is barred hog tight for the man who does not labor while he waits."

The *Emporia Gazette*, which was bought by Mr. White on borrowed money, is today a financial success. Advertising is always the principle source of revenue to a paper, the *Gazette* is no exception to that. Mr. White has, however, kept the *Gazette's* advertising clean. No fake schemes or questionable propositions can ever find their way into the *Gazette's* advertising columns. He will, under no circumstances, accept advertisements for patent medicines which profess to cure all. Patent nostrums, as the medical profession has repeatedly stated, are frauds. There is also a stringent ban in the *Gazette* office on cigaret and liquor advertisements.

William Allen White, affectionately called by his friends Bill White, is a hard worker. Years have left no mark on his aggressive life. He has the constitution of a hundred horses. More. His will has grown stronger with time. His working desk is cluttered with newspapers, magazines, and books. It looks like chaos; but he can usually dig in and quickly find anything he wants.

In addition to writing for his own paper every day

he contributes many articles to leading magazines, and produces a book every two or three years.

"Bill White wouldn't hurt a flea", said a former Governor of the State of Kansas, "but when he sits down before a double action typewriter and writes out his emotions, he is a dangerous man." By common consent, Bill when annoyed can be magnificently formidable; but for the past few years he has abandoned his "double action typewriter". The stress of writing had brought on writer's cramp, and he tried dictation with success. He now dictates all his editorials and articles to his secretary.

Mr. White is an omnivorous reader. He reads endless newspapers. He told me himself that he reads on an average, one book a day. He has an insatiable thirst to know the how of things. His library is one of the largest in the country. Many of his books are sent to him by the publishers for review purposes. The *Gazette* conducts a daily column on books. Almost every week Mr. White will emerge from his private office, adjoining the newsroom, with an armload of books. He hands them out to his reporters and sub-editors to review them. They are, of course, allowed to keep many of these books.

Mr. White is personally interested in his employees. He is a genius, a gentleman, likewise an unaffected democrat. He is on the friendliest terms with every one in his office, from the pressmen to the sub-editors. They are his friends and coworkers. I think his fair treatment accounts for the long service which many have given him. Several have been in office, I was



MR ALLEN WHITL.

HIS STUDY.

(To face page 108)

told, from 20 to 25 years. Every employee who has stayed 25 years gets a gift of one thousand rupees. This has been given so far, to three persons. Mr. White also instituted, some years ago, a profit sharing plan whereby every employee gets a share of the profits according to his length of service. Moreover, every employee is given an insurance policy (life and accident, possibly sickness) which is kept paid up for him as long as he is employed. The Emporia philosopher-editor is a pulsating human being.

Two or three times a year, Mr. White calls the news staff into a conference where suggestions for the good of the paper are made. In these staff conferences he is always open to amendments. Several years ago one of these conferences demanded comic strips and won over Mr. White's protest. Today the *Gazette* has its full quota of comics which are abhorred by him, but to which he has yielded. He does not wish to play the boss, the dictator.

There are eight or nine reporters and copy-readers on the *Gazette* staff. These reporters are youngsters. Several of them are still attending a local college. None of them had newspaper experience before going to work on the *Gazette*. Mr. White prefers to break his workers into the newspaper game himself. He trains them by suggestion, example, and occasional advice. He teaches them, according to a close observer, "how to see an article, how to smell it out and how to pounce on it; he teaches them how to develop it, finding new phases and feature of the same article day after day. He teaches them the ethics of a newspaper making,

so that they know what is fair and what is false. They learn to write clearly, concisely, and with humor and kindness." A number of the young men, who achieved their training on the *Gazette*, have made their mark.

Three or four years ago, a volume was published by the Macmillan Company containing assorted specimens of Mr. White's editorials. The title of the book is *The Editor and His People*. Mr. White had nothing to do with the selection. The editorials were gathered into book form not through any motion of his, but for classroom purposes of the School of Journalism at the University of Kansas. The book gives clear-cut pictures of the author, his home town, and his country. There is sharp steel in the White style as well as attar of roses. Its phrases can sting as well as they can caress. And what a fine reading the book makes.

Perhaps the most moving piece of writing in this collection is the short editorial entitled, "To an Anxious Friend." It was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for being the best editorial article produced in America in 1922. This editorial, which was written in support of free speech, is as follows :

"You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people — and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of thy race. It is the proof of man's kinship with God. You say that freedom of

utterance is not for time of stress, and I reply with the sad truth that only in time of stress is freedom of utterance in danger. No one questions it in calm days, because it is not needed. And the reverse is true also; only when free utterance is suppressed is it needed, and when it is needed, it is most vital to justice. Peace is good. But if you are interested in peace through force and without free discussion — that is to say, free utterance decently and in order — your interest in justice is slight. And peace without justice is tyranny. This State to-day is in more danger from suppression than from violence, because, in the end, suppression leads to violence. Violence, indeed, is the child of suppression. Whoever pleads for justice helps to keep the peace; and whoever tramples upon the plea for justice temperately made in the name of peace only outrages peace and kills something fine in the heart of man which God put there when we got our manhood. When that is killed, brute meets brute on each side of the line.

“So, dear friend, put fear out of your heart. This nation will survive, this State will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold — by voice, by postal card, by letter or by press. Reason never has failed man. Only force and repression have made the wrecks in the world.”

They say at Emporia that William Allen White is a great lover of flowers. He possesses a wide knowledge of flowers and shrubs, and has one of the most beautiful gardens in Emporia. He seeks editorially to arouse

wide-spread interest in beautiful lawns and gardens. He also gives every year a thousand rupees to the local garden club, to stimulate interest in garden beautification. Most of the prizes go to makers of new gardens and small lot gardeners. "What we want," the distinguished author/critic will tell you, "is the active interest of the average man in keeping his yard pleasant to look at. The big fellows already have their places beautified, so they don't need either the financial or moral inducement of the garden prizes. The small gardener appreciates and needs the help, and he is the one we are trying to reach."

Newspaper is to William Allen White not a political toy to play with, but a channel of contact between him and his community, an instrument of service to his nation and to the world. He makes, no doubt, good money. Money is, however, his incidental reward. His real reward is in the exhilaration that he gets out of the process in serving his fellow-men. His newspaper plant, his garden, his books, his town — they are parts of him and products of him, and he is a part and product of them. Fight for better and saner America has become the breath of his life. He is a social dreamer. His is the social ideal which aspires upward like a living flame.

"I thank God," confessed Mr. White to me in a mellow mood, "I am a visionary. When I cease to be visionary, I hope I shall be a corpse."

CHAPTER XIV

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL : A NEWSPAPER FOR SERVICE

It was a lovely autumn afternoon at Milwaukee on the western shore of the Lake Michigan. The shopping crowd was surging through the business sections of the city; but nowhere was life beating faster than in the office of *The Milwaukee Journal*.

Blocks away one can see the tall and magnificent Journal building, which has been erected at a cost of six million rupees. On a nearer view, he appreciates the beauty of this five-story structure better. It is faced with large, smooth-surfaced pieces of pink limestone with narrow mortar joints of a neutral color. The great arches, which form ornamental windows for the second floor, present an impressive appearance. Up near the roof, there is a frieze which illustrates the growth and development of newspaper. Extending entirely around the two front sides of the building, just below the top coping of the walls, is a carved frieze of life-size figures which artistically depict the evolution of news and its dissemination, from the earliest ages of man to the present time.

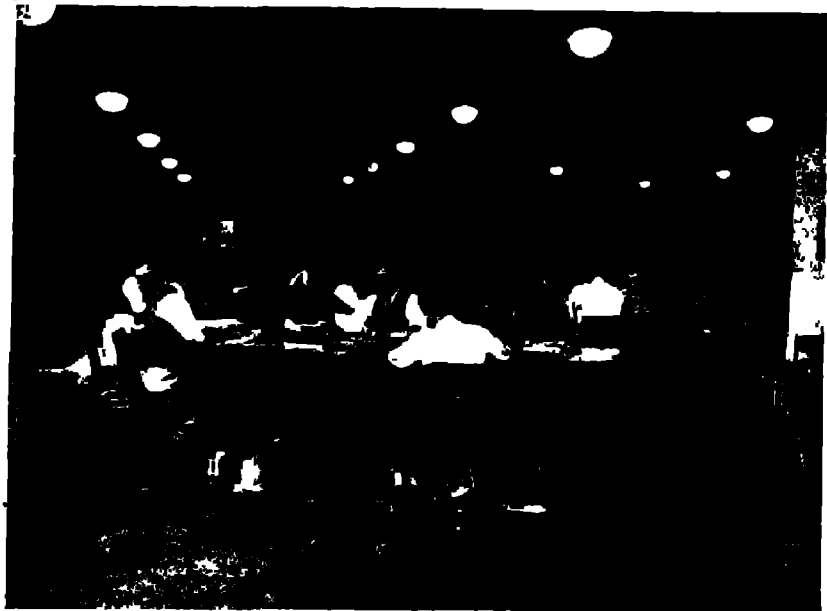
The passer-by can also see from the street the huge room where the *Journal* presses print, cut, and fold 135,000 forty-two page papers an hour. The press

room floor is so constructed that the entire press operation is visible from the street. No other large newspaper plant in America has this feature.

Stepping into the main lobby through one of the imposing entrances, I realized that it was press time. Reporters and messenger boys were rushing in and out. Late advertisers were bringing in their last-minute ads. There was din and bustle.

Presently I was shot by the lift to the fourth floor, where the editorial department offices as well as the busy news room are located. I saw the editors, reporters, re-write men, and copy readers at break-neck speed. Work and more work. Hurry and more hurry. Telephones were ringing, telegraph keys were buzzing, and a phalanx of fifty typewriters were clanking away. Electricity was in the air. The scene was busy, exciting, even thrilling. I was almost stunned and carried away by the noise and the movement. Soon there would be in the street an extra edition of the paper — paper which is "The Voice of Now — the incarnate spirit of the Times — Monarch of things that Are."

The Milwaukee Journal, which is reckoned as one of the seven or eight foremost dailies of America, has many unique features. I am not now thinking particularly of its most up-to-date machinery, its many excellent devices and improvements in operating methods, nor of its elaborate newsgathering agencies. What impressed me most about *The Journal* was its public service. It is of a quality which is perhaps unexcelled by any other newspaper plant in the United States.



A View of the copy desk
• MILWAUKEE JOURNAL "

To be put into

A few years back, when I was in England, I went to the office of the London *Times* and asked to see one of its editors. I was then connected with one of the most important American dailies. An attaché showed me through the Times building, and informed me that editors were not accessible. Maybe that, after all, was excusable in England. Native editors with their walrus mustaches, I suspect, are inaccessible because they are English and because they consider themselves above common courtesy to a visitor. They are the prize snobs of Christendom. How very different are English journalists from their fellow-tradesmen in America!

In order to better acquaint myself with *The Milwaukee Journal* and to get intimate glimpses behind the scenes, I called at the sanctum of the Vice-President, Mr. H. J. Grant. He is a Harvard man, and a capable journalist. He was at the moment busy; but I never found a man more cordial. He seemed to have all the time in the world to talk to me about *The Journal* and its forty-five years of progress. Here is a characteristic story of his paper, which is worth repeating.

"Shortly after the signing of the Armistice in 1918," remarked Mr. Grant as he lighted his cigar and handed me another, "*The Journal* decided that the interests of education in our State of Wisconsin would be greatly furthered if a number of representative teachers in Wisconsin were to tour the European battle-fields, observe conditions growing out of the war and inform the public regarding them."

"How would you select the teachers," he was asked.

" Teachers were chosen by popular vote. No condition looking to increase in circulation or other material advantage was imposed. In all about a million and a half votes were cast, and the eleven teachers thus chosen and a special representative of the paper constituted a touring party. The entire expenses of the trip were met by *The Journal*.

" How long did the trip last ? "

" The party sailed the early part of July, 1920, toured England, France, Belgium, Scotland and Switzerland, and returned in the middle of August. They enjoyed exceptional opportunities for study, and received official attention and courtesies. "

" All that is very interesting; but in what way did these tourists benefit America ? " I inquired, anxious to get at practical results.

" *The Journal* furnished each member of the party with a set of stereopticon slides, showing ninety of the most interesting views photographed during the tour. All of the teachers have delivered illustrated lectures on what they saw and learned, some of them having spoken in public as many as a hundred times. So far as is known, it is the first enterprise of its kind conducted by any American newspaper. "

Mr. Grant was cheerily conversational; but he talked facts. He also invited me to go along with him and make a tour of the Journal building for a few hours. Needless to say that I accepted the invitation gladly because I always prefer exact data to glittering generalizations, accurate appraisal to highfalutin tosh

The building is a veritable hive of activities; but there are ample facilities for serving the public. Exclusive of the space occupied by the press room, practically the entire remainder of the first floor in this model plant is given to the convenience of the general public. Here is located the lobby, The Journal Public Service Bureau, The Journal Tour Club, rest room for men and women, information desk, a public library branch, a telegraph office, telephone booths, and a branch Post Office.

I was wondering what the Tour Club was meant to do. Just then one of the girl clerks at the Public Service Bureau handed me a neat little folder which read: "Take full advantage of the many helpful services of *The Milwaukee Journal Tour Club* in planning your trips for the coming season. Get the habit of phoning, wiring, or calling at Tour Club headquarters before you start a trip for last minute reports on road conditions. It's your club. *Use it!* Make The Journal Building your meeting place."

On inquiry I learned that touring information is given free throughout the year by a trained staff of experts to all who apply by mail, telephone, or in person. In addition to planning trips, the Club dispenses authoritative hunting, fishing, and vacation information. Altogether, the Tour Club serves a quarter of a million people annually.

On the second floor of the building, I entered the Public Lounge. This room is attractively furnished in the manner of a luxurious club lounge. Large chairs and davenports, carpets and hangings in plen-

sing soft tones, lend an atmosphere of hospitality and restfulness. The comforts of this room are enjoyed not only by visitors, but also employees of *The Journal*, who of course have a separate lounge of their own. The Public Lounge is an ideal place, especially for out-of-town (mofussil) visitors to rest, meet friends, or write letters.

While on the second floor, I was attracted by the *Journal's* Gallery of Wisconsin Art. The purpose of the Gallery is to open to artists of the State of Wisconsin an all-year exhibition room for the display and sale of their pictures. The exhibition space consists of four rooms, although only the largest is regularly used.

So far, sculpture has been excluded. Exhibitions are limited to paintings, etchings, and drawings. Exhibits are completely changed every three months. The Gallery opens to Wisconsin artists an exhibition room for their current work. Moreover, it combines the advantages of a sales room with the publicity resources of a constructive newspaper. It is estimated that about 25,000 persons viewed the pictures in two of its recent exhibits. These persons were attracted to the showing, without a doubt, largely by the dignified publicity which *The Journal* gives the pictures.

During the week I was in Milwaukee, there was a flower show in the Public Lounge. I was told that flower shows and food exhibitions are common and regular occurrences.

Close to the Public Lounge are two Lecture Rooms for the use of the public. Neither of these rooms can



A corner of the Tonnal Lounge
showing a portion of the exhibit in the
" Gallery of Wisconsin Art "

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accommodate more than an audience of 200; but both Lecture Rooms are furnished to provide comfort and convenience to speakers and audiences. *The Journal* has set these rooms aside for the use of clubs and organizations of a civic nature. They are welcome to use them upon request.

In addition to these two meeting rooms on the second floor, there is, on the fifth floor, an Auditorium. It seats about 500 people. The stage is of ample size, and acoustics are good. *The Journal* also provides a piano for the room. There is no charge for the use of the Auditorium, or any of the other rooms. They are absolutely free to the people.

In the list of its public services, mention should be made of *The Journal's* new high-powered radio station. From this great station one can easily get America's finest broadcasts in any weather and without interference. *The Journal* also augments these outstanding broadcasts with its own high class programs from its own studio. *The Journal* is in living contact with the people it serves. Its radio programs include, beside music and entertainment, subjects which are vital to public welfare and of immediate concern to all.

As I was being piloted from one floor to another, I saw the many interesting processes followed in making a modern metropolitan newspaper, from gathering the news from all parts of the world to the actual printing of the finished product. Now and again my thoughtful guide, Vice-President Grant, stopped to introduce me to editors, reporters, and other employees of *The Journal*.

It was interesting to find that the welfare of men and women who work for this paper has not been neglected by the management. A completely equipped first-aid hospital on the fourth floor stands ready, in case of emergency, for service. Every new employé is given a free medical examination at this hospital. There is also on the same floor an employé's canteen where good wholesome food can be had at a slightly less than the cost price.

The Milwaukee Journal earns sixteen million rupees a year. Of this vast revenue, fully one-third comes from advertisements. Isn't that enough to pop the eye of an Indian publisher? *The Journal* is frankly proud of its prosperity; but it is no less proud of its achievements as a civic institution. Beneficent public services, which space has permitted recounting but a fraction here, almost cover whatever sins one might lay to the charge of *The Journal*. It is a paper of quality and for service.

CHAPTER XV

BATTLE OF THE BOOKS

It was published in a Boston newspaper that a Shakesperian repertoire company happening to be in town, a business man said to his secretary : "Go down to the theatre and get me two tickets for Twelfth Night."

The Secretary went to the theatre and on her return to the office, she reported : "I couldn't get tickets for the night you specified, sir. The company will only be in town six evenings."

This ignorant secretary does not fortunately represent all America, which is busy devouring the printed word. I point to the very large number of book shops and enormous sale of books in the United States. There are in the Republic 2,000 book shops, which are called book stores. They sell about 65,000,000 of the 130,000,000 books and booklets sold every year in this country. In money the annual book trade comes to Rs. 390,000,000.

Book reading pre-supposes leisure, and very few Americans have leisure. Moreover, automobiles, radio, motion pictures, monthly and weekly magazines, and hourly newspapers leave people only a small margin of time to read books. Nevertheless book buyers in the United States, according to the American Publi-

shers Association, average about two books per family per year.

ON BOOK SELLING

American book sellers are of the opinion that the book buying possibilities of this nation have hardly been scratched. They are constantly developing a real professional technique to secure more and better book selling. I shall here jot down a few of their "trade secrets," which have come under my observation.

Every book shop tries its best to call attention to its books through window display. Now in arranging a window display, advantage is taken of the best principles of psychology of salesmanship. The light is so arranged that it falls on the books, and does not dazzle the eyes of the passerby. The books are placed neither too high nor too low, for the glance directed from the foot-path. The display is not left in the windows until it is dusty or cobweby; It is frequently changed and re-arranged.

The windows in the best book shops I have seen are clean and alive. They make excellent sales makers which lure customers into the shops. "I would display as many titles as possible," remarked the saleslady of a shop I frequently drop in "with some prices quoted, in my windows and some pointed saying that will speak to the outside customers. The silent conversation may make this man an inside inquirer. Once in, I make him or her feel at home by suggesting the freedom of the store for browsing." This gives us a close-up view of the manner in which books are skillfully introduced to the reading public. The

outstanding feature of the situation is to get "more books better and better books more" read.

Booksellers show their books at the window; but they do not stop with that. They also showcard their books. The clever showcards with their quick and direct appeal are at times irresistible silent salesmen.

Newspaper advertising receives careful attention. At least once a week, a well-planned advertisement of fifty or sixty lines will appear in the local town paper. The advertisement will consist of a suggested list of worthwhile books together with a cordial welcome to visit the shop. It is quite generally recognized that no book seller can be successful if he does not advertise his store, his stock, and himself through the printed word.

The manager of a live book-store plans to establish contact with his community not only through cold print but also through every personal touch. One of these managers tells me that in order to popularize books, he gives talks before schools, clubs and public gatherings. He speaks on such topics as "Building a Library", "New Books on Psychology", "Modern Poetry", "Introducing Books to Boys and Girls".

BOOKSHOP AN INSTITUTION FOR SERVICE

A good book seller is a veritable librarian. He has a prodigious memory for titles, authors, editions, and prices. His shop is often looked upon as a bureau of information. He let the people know that his dictionaries, books of reference, or catalogues of books are at their command. The sales people are almost invari-

ably good-natured, courteous, patient, and tactful. They often send out personal letters to people inviting them to come to the shop and ask any questions they wish.

The idea back of all this is to make the book store a community centre. For those who are not able to visit it personally, books are sent to their homes for examination free of charge.

American books are the finest examples of artistic craftsmanship : they are attractive, tasteful, and well-made. The price of books, however, is very high. The writer is particularly interested in works on social sciences. They usually cost him from nine to fifteen rupees a piece.

LURE OF BOOKS

The variety of books published in America is almost endless. There were last year 7,000 new books published — 1,000 of them novels. A great deal of the stuff — like the present output of the British press — is dull, feeble, and shoddy. But over here the reading public is willing and ready to buy books. In England, the natives as a rule borrow them. To many Britanicos the idea of buying a book ranks as the greatest extravagance. And that is why nearly every British literary gent, every British flogger of typewriter would break his neck to have his book published in the United States, where he can gather in more shekels than anywhere else on the globe. The book situation in America is, however, far from being satisfactory. For one thing, there are not nearly enough bookshops where good books can be had at reasonably low prices.

It has been estimated that between 50 and 75 per cent of the American population live from fifty to a thousand miles from anything like adequate bookshops. The situation is, of course, different in large cities where there are many excellent shops to supply the demand; but the average reader, whether in the city or in the country, has not the time to select the most worth while new books from among the flood of rubbish.

This is not a very healthy state of affairs. What does the United States propose to do about it? The answer was given recently by a number of new institutions, such as the Book of the Month Club and the Literary Guild of America. The prime object of these organizations is to bring books and readers together without the assistance of the middleman, the bookseller.

BOOK A MONTH.

The Book of the Month Club has engaged a group of five critics to select the most readable and important book of the month. The critics have access to all the new books each month, which are submitted for their consideration by the publishers. Usually, each month the choice narrows among from twenty to thirty books. A copy of each one of these books is read by each member of the Selecting Committee. There is no joint discussion. Each one reads the books independently, and gives them a rating in the order in which he himself prefers them. The book which obtains the highest total rating becomes the book of the month, and is at once sent out to Book of the Month Club subscribers.

There is no denying that tastes and opinions differ. Moreover, the judgment of the Selecting Committee is not infallible. A subscriber may not care at all for what the judges consider the outstanding book of the month. His taste is not theirs. The Club, therefore, does not compel him to read a book, whether he likes it or not.

When the book of the month is mailed to a subscriber — at the same time a list of other important new books, which received a high rating in the vote of the judges, is sent with it. If the first book does not meet the particular taste of a subscriber, he may exchange it — without extra charge — for any of the other new books. The result is that a subscriber can exercise a wide and discriminating choice among the new books. More important still, he finds that he actually obtains he intends to read.

The book selected each month is sent to all subscribers who pay the same price (no more and no less) that the publisher himself charges. The Book-of-the-month-club idea seems to be working satisfactorily for over 40,000 readers have subscribed to the Club.

LITERARY GUILD

The Literary Guild of America was largely inspired by the Book of the Month Club. The Guild has a distinguished Board of Editors which reads the manuscripts submitted by any publisher or author in America and Europe. The books are chosen by the editors from original manuscripts, not from books already published. The Literary Guild makes a special edition of the book. At the same time the regular

publisher makes a regular edition to be sold through the bookshop.

A member of the Guild receives an outstanding new book each month at about half the price it would cost him at a bookshop. By adopting a yearly subscription plan instead of haphazard buying, the Guild can let the members have the books at about half of what they would pay for them at the bookshops.

This is not hard to understand. When one subscribes for a magazine for a year, he pays less than when he buys a single copy. Much in the same way, when a man subscribes through the Literary Guild for 12 books a year he gets his new books for less than if he buys each book separately at a bookshop. The Guild abolishes the risk of uncertain editions and helter-skelter distribution. It publishes for an organized body of subscribers in advance. They receive 12 books — one a month — as they would a magazine. It is a new and startling method of book distribution in America.

The Guild pays all postage. The subscriber sends three rupees with the application blank, and nine rupees a month for six months. For the last six months he pays nothing. Considering that American books are very expensive, the subscription rate for the Literary Guild is quite reasonable.

The Book of the Month Club and the Literary Guild of America have naturally come in for a good deal of semian criticism from booksellers and publishers. They claim that the Club and the Guild will injure the retail book business throughout the United States.

Say what they will, their argument does not carry weight with the reading public. Men and women who would not otherwise buy a book, now would be induced to do so. More they would probably read it because the choice has been made by eminent experts.

The point in reading books is to contribute to the emancipation of individual and national life. We cannot study and digest too many good books. It is the use we make of books which counts.

CHAPTER XVI

AMERICAN LANGUAGE

A Professor of English in the University of London, Sir Israel Gollancz by name, has assailed the American language the other day to the great amusement of the American people. He referred to Americans speaking "like a herd of Gadarene swine." He also states "from all ends of the earth fresh barbarisms are pouring into the country," and that the English language is now being menaced by the American. That's interesting.

The American reply to the English Professor has taken the form of asking these questions: Who can stop the use of new words and phrases? What can be done about it? What harm will so-called barbarisms do? Didn't every language develop by "barbarisms?"

WHAT'S PURE ENGLISH?

Many defenders of a language in its present state forget that a language is moulded without reason by the masses of people. Language, Webster says, is "the body of words and methods of combining words used and understood by a considerable body of people," and again he defines it as "any means of expressing or communicating feeling or thought." Thus, language is a tool to enable people to make things easier for

themselves. To the stylist, language is a temple and each word is a lighted candle. But to the masses, words move in overalls with much work to do.

As long as words are simple, clear, straightforward and convey the connotation to the people to whom it should be conveyed, what more should one ask? The trouble with so many English purists is that they think the language is "degraded" by the incursion of foreign words. They should agree with James Russell Lowell when he says: "Wherever a language is alive, it grows." A committee of English Professors cannot change the trend of English — cannot prevent it from changing, developing. They can no more stop the onrush of language with its "barbarisms" than they can bring back time which is past. Moreover, the advocates of so-called standard English must know that the language spoken by Englishmen consists of street French, vulgar Latin, and peasant Scandinavian jumbled together. There is no infallible litmus test of "pure" English.

Apropos of the frequent English complaint that England is taking more and more American, one may inquire where the King's English now resides. Where is it to be found? Once it was the language of the southern countries, always with exceptions; again it was the language of London, excluding of course, the cockney; again it was the Oxford jargon. Some otherwise intelligent critics claim that the language of the public schools — of Eaton, Harrow, Rugby, and the like — is the authentic English tongue. It may be doubted whether a Lancashire miner and a Lincolnshire

farmer could understand each other. There is Yorkshire English and southern English, peasant and townie English, all firmly set and so far differentiated that Englishmen in different countries may well have difficulties in understanding what the other says. These, to the Englishman, are quaint diversities, though the cockney or the Oxford lingo may sound to Americans far more like barbarous distortions and affectations.

AMERICANISM VS. BRITICISM

Advocates of Anglo-American unity do not like to admit that America differs from England not only in things social and political, but also linguistic. There is a wide divergence in vocabulary and pronunciation between the two peoples. Englishmen complain about the "nasal twang" of Americans and Americans are not one bit slow in returning the compliment. They retort by saying that the English guttural is unpleasant, that the English accent is very disagreeable, and that the English speech is not infrequently unintelligible. If Americanism is sneered at in the British Isles so is Britishism in the United States.

Shortly after the Great War I happened to be in England where I saw an enterprising London tobacconist put up a sign bearing the legend, "American Is Spoken Here", to the front of his shop. He was imitated by various other London, Liverpool, and Paris shop-keepers.

Many Americans tell me pointblank that they do not speak a degenerate English. They speak the American language. They say that they do not like

to be hyphenated imitation Englishmen with their language a mere loan from England. Englishmen may detest American-English, but it is developing along its own lines and is slowly and inevitably differentiating itself from the British-English. Americans are creating an American language of their own. The King's English is all right in the King's own United Kingdom among his subject, but it plays little part in American life and manners. It seems to me on some not too distant tomorrow the pretense of a "common language" between the United States and England will have to be given up.

The American language is not inferior to English spoken by Englishmen in their native land; it is different. Just as Americans have built their skyscrapers differently making them a product of this country; just as they have inaugurated their own ways of systematizing and conducting business; so they have shaped their language to suit their needs. Americans are a strong nation and therefore their language is vigorous and colorful.

The English literary tradition is gradually disappearing from the United States. The process began soon after the American Declaration of Independence. Noah Webster, the great American lexicographer, argued in 1789 that the time for regarding English usage and submitting to English authority had already passed, and that future separation of the American tongue from the English "was necessary and unavoidable." "Numerous local causes", he foresaw, "such as a new country, new associations of people, new combinations

of ideas in arts and sciences, and some intercourse with tribes wholly unknown in Europe, will introduce new words into the American tongue. Those causes will produce, in a course of time, a language in North America as different from the future language of England as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from the German, or from one another." In his Dictionary, Webster introduced radical change in spelling and pronunciation.

There is at the present time a growing revolt among American literary men against the colonial-minded doctrine that the standards of English are the only reputable stands of American. Mr. Rupert Hughes, whose own novels are full of racy and effective Americanism, asks his compatriots in a recent article in "Haper's Magazine" not to submit to English precept and example. What he wants is "a new Declaration of Independence". He is for the American language which he calls the Statish language. He goes on:

"Let us sign a Declaration of Literary Independence and formally begin to write, not British, but United Statish. For there is such a language, a brilliant, growing, glowing vivacious, elastic language for which we have no specific name. We might call it Statesish, or for euphony condense it to Statish. But, whatever we call it, let us cease to consider it a vulgar dialect of English, to be used only with deprecation. Let us study it in its splendid efflorescence, be proud of it, and true to it. Let us put off livery, cease to be the butlers of another people's language, and try to be the masters and the creators of our own."

FUTURE OF AMERICAN LANGUAGE

The American language, or if you prefer to call it

American-English, is not an artificial product. It ~~is~~ the living expression of the mind and spirit of American people. As philologists tell us, there is no intrinsic right or wrong in the use of language. What is right now may be wrong hereafter; what language rejected yesterday, may be accepted today or tomorrow. Language is ever subject to changing and shifting. None but pedants will try to restrict a living language with iron-bound rules of impersonal grammarians.

The current American-English differs, in some respects, from British-English in spelling, pronunciation, and syntax. He who wishes to study the subject at great length can do no better than to consult H. L. Mencken's "American Language", a work of distinguished scientific scholarship.

To the American mind, which is quicker and wittier than the English mind, the British-English seems at times appalling. No doubt it serves the purpose of the natives of the foggy Isles. But the American language seems to be more vivid than the English. It is full of pungent epithets, vigorous expressions, and racy substantives. The unique imaginativeness and resourcefulness of the American are coining new words, are reaching out for vivid forms almost every day. Some of these Americanisms are extremely original and brilliant. Mr. Mencken compares them to the great disadvantage of the British-English, and gives innumerable instances. He says: "*Morie* is better than *cinema*; and the English begin to admit the fact by adopting the word; it is not only better American, it is better English. *Billboard* is better than

harding. *Office-holder* is more honest, more picturesque, more thoroughly Anglo-Saxon than *public servant*. *Stem-winder* somehow has more life in it, more fancy and vividness, than the literal *keyless-watch*. "

What will be the future of the American language? Obviously a very difficult question to answer. The American form of English is now spoken by three times as many persons as all the British forms taken together. Americanisms are flooding the English of Canada, Australia, Far East, and even the British Isles. The American language is much more of a pusher than the English language. It may not annihilate the English language; but as the tongue of the most go-ahead nation of the world, it will be a dominant language for the world.

CHAPTER XVII

IDEALS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

I

School and colleges are recognized as a unifying force in America, which is inhabited by many more races than India. The supreme task before the United States, as it is before India, is to make out of the diverse races and creeds a single national consciousness. The trusted American agency, which is relied upon to achieve the national solidarity, is education. It is the single largest factor in American nation-building. And if the educational experiment of creating the American out of heterogeneous raw material is to a large extent a success in these United States, why will not the same experiment succeed in making the true Indian in India ?

Let me cite a few figures to illustrate how widespread education is in America. One person out of every five in the United States is at present attending a free public school. Over 750,000 young men and women are today attending colleges and universities. They are the pick of the coming generation. Twenty-five years ago one bachelor's degree was issued for every 5,400 of the population. In 1922 one degree was issued for one person in 2,300. Year after year the proportion of those holding university diplomas

is being greatly increased. This year 40,000 youths graduated from higher educational institutions.

II

America expects, and it has a right to expect, that the future leaders of the nation in statecraft, science, literature, art, business, finance, and philanthropy should come from the college population. Even if all the college graduates do not become outstanding leaders in their communities, they will have because of their college training acquired broader vision, greater imagination and deeper appreciation of the finer things of life. But as a matter of fact, American College graduates do furnish nine out of every ten leaders in all branches.

Never before in the history of the world was there such a concentration of wealth and energy and power for education. As I go about visiting universities, I frequently drop into class rooms and see what the professors are actually striving to do. It appears to me that they are endeavoring to make their colleges an educational agency of the whole people. Their work is three fold : they are laboring to produce as large a body as possible of the kind of men and women best fitted to be citizens of the American Republic. They are also working to train scholars and to discover new truth. The greatest emphasis, however, is placed upon productive scholarship and the closer contact between the college and the community.

A professor has no right to be a hermit, a thinker in a vacuum. The man who prides himself only in his academic dignity and cold aloofness is, in nine cases

out of ten, a liability rather than an asset in the vital education, educational process. He does not belong to the teaching profession really. For all his so called learning he is just a tedious yokel who bores me to tears. He should be put away in a cell by himself until, as they do in paranoic cases in insane asylums, he "clears up." A teacher worthy of his calling must do his utmost, both in the lecture hall and outside, to help materialize the larger ideals of his college. And these ideals I find envisioned in the following words of the last President of the University of Chicago :

"First, a college ought to help each student to acquire such a knowledge of the physical universe, of the history of the race, of the structure of society, and of the nature of the individual, that, by taking his stand at the center of his own being, he may have a sense of where he is... The second thing a college ought to do for its students is to teach them to think, not to follow precepts, not to practice an art according to fixed methods or to play a game according to the rules of the game, but to observe facts, to set them in relation to one another, to view them dispassionately, to draw conclusions from them...The third thing that is necessary to the achievement of the business of the college is the development of character.....Breadth of knowledge, power to think are indispensable prerequisites to large participation in life or large contributions to life. But apart from high moral character they are not only inadequate but positively dangerous. And because this is so, no institution that undertakes to give these former things can escape the obligation to concern itself for the latter also."

III

It is not of course, to be inferred that all students

and teachers are in eager pursuit of higher ideals everywhere. Critics are not wanting to point out the shortcomings of American college life, its extravagance, its ostentation, its sexual indiscretions, its cliques and its snobbishness. Many of the exhilarating scandals of the present college life, critics forget, are directly traceable to the excesses of the late "war for democracy" Scarcely a book season passes but some "high pressure" novelists will grind out "college novels" of college life. In these jazzy works of fiction young men are depicted as a bunch of softies, and young women more interested in the decoration of their face than in the development of their mind, more engrossed in intensive dancing than in purposive study. That perhaps is true — some times, not always! The picture drawn by the fiction artists has one colossal defect; it lacks proportion, do not give a fair representation of the average college life. Their work is, therefore, incorrect and untrustworthy.

The average college students is not a "snappy young bouncer with good taste in drinks, and better taste in women." There are undoubtedly "thrill hounds" in colleges who relegate scholastic ideals to a subordinate position, who are out primarily for "good times" and incidentally to pick up a few tricks that will fetch them money later on. They are on the whole uneducable persons. There are, however, thousands of eager souls who never lose sight of the deep-lying purposes of college education. Thousands of them, at any rate, are on the campus to improve and advance. They lead hard lives of study and re-

-search. They are not work-shy. Indeed, they do little else beyond doing their college work with unflagging zeal. To them education is a brilliant adventure, a grand voyage of discovery.

IV

During the quarter of a century that I have been in America more than half of which has been spent in teaching, I have discovered that American colleges are not all alike. Some of these institutions are little better than high schools, while others are real centres of culture and learning. In the great American state universities and also in some of the private institutions like Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia and Chicago, there is anxious quest for the rational process, an earnest effort for the development of reasoning power. Before the dawn of the New Learning in Europe, men used to ask: What does Aristotle or Socrates say? Now men in the centres of higher education ask: What are the facts, so that we may reach a rational judgment, without prejudice, without bent. And it is a pleasure to record that great many of the searchers after truth are making significant contributions to the sum total of human knowledge, without any thought of adequate compensation.

A few weeks ago a professor of the University of Wisconsin, who has made real contributions to Norwegian literature, refused to accept a decoration from the King of Norway for the second time. King Haakon would like to honor the professor with the Order of St. Olaf; but he declined it saying, "Decorations are humbug." He rejected the decoration not for the

first time, but for the second. What does a scholar care for the empty bauble of a title or a decoration? It has no lure for him; it adds nothing to his intellectual stature. On the contrary, it helps to rate himself as juvenile. He may even suspect that when a potentate announces, "Arise, Sir Harry," or "Arise, Sir Rabindra," these words are the forerunners of an ax to grind. A teacher cannot be bothered with such a humbug, however highly it may be prized by the gaping herd.

V

Outside of a few rag-tag and hob-tail institutions, universities are constantly searching for new truth for the use of the people. Professors are scholars and investigators, whose sacred duty is to blaze the way to political, social and cultural progress. It is an age-old struggle, and it never ends. Bacon somewhere tells the story of an order of Catholic priests who undertook to learn how many teeth a horse has. They went to the writings of the early Church Fathers and Aristotle for the information in vain. The number of teeth in a horse's mouth was declared to be "an everlasting mystery, because of a grievous dearth of historical and theological evidence." Finally an enterprising neophyte timidly suggested getting a horse and counting the teeth. Consternation reigned. "Satan hath tempted this bold neophyte," opined the priests, "to declare unholy and unheard-of ways of finding truth, contrary to the teaching of all the Fathers." Nevertheless from Bacon, through Darwin in England to Michelson in America, rash neophytes

have still been insisting on counting horse's teeth. A scholar must know things at first hand.

A university is not a ready-made fact-trough from which the students should be fed willy-nilly. They should go to the university of their own accord, and get directly from the original source what is most likely to enrich their lives.

It was my privilege a few years back to hear Miss Hellen Keller, who is blind and deaf, to deliver a public address. At the end of this lecture this young American woman, who can neither hear nor see, invited the audience to ask her questions.

One of the queries that was put to her was this :
“ Is there anything worse than being blind ? ”

She paused for half a second. Then she gave this reply :

“ Yes, it is worse to have eyes and not see. ”

CHAPTER XVIII

EDUCATION WEEK

The last week was observed in America as the Education Week. It was the outcome of the realization of concerted and consecrated effort for mass education. While every one of the fifty-two weeks in the year is given to human education of one kind or another, it is considered highly desirable to devote one week in particular to stimulate enthusiasm for education.

The President of the United States designated by proclamation the seven days beginning from November 16 and ending on November 22 as the Education Week this year. It was observed not only in the schools of the country, but also by civic clubs, study groups, chambers of commerce, women's clubs, and other organizations.

During the Education Week, public meetings are held, cinema demonstrations and the school exhibitions are arranged. They all remind the people of the importance, the needs and problems of a good school system in a well-regulated nation.

TO BATTLE ILLITERACY

The war against illiteracy is not yet over in America. Indeed, according to the last census of the United States, this country ranks tenth in illiteracy.

Had the compulsory education law been rigidly enforced, illiteracy would no doubt have been completely wiped out.

During the Great War, the tests of the United States War Department showed that illiteracy was even more prevalent than the census reports indicated. Practically 25 per cent of those in the draft could not read a type-written order or a letter. Such a poor showing has been the cause of deep concern in America which is considered by its citizens as an important leader in the progress of the world. Every attempt is therefore being made to reduce the amount of illiteracy.

The idea for national Education Week started in 1920 during the Presidency of the late Mr. Warren G. Harding. It has now become an American institution. The education week is an annual event throughout the Republic. Some of the cardinal points emphasized in this seven-day education campaign have been well summarized by an educationist :

1. American school is America's first line of defense in times of peace.

2. If America's schools fail, America fails.

3. Five million children in the United States of school age are not attending school.

4. Twenty-two per cent of the colored population is illiterate.

5. Reports from the surgeon general's office show 25 per cent of all the men called for examination during the late war were illiterate.

6. Six per cent of the population of the United

States is illiterate.

7. Illiteracy through accident alone has cost the United States annually over \$825,000,000 (Rs. 2,475,000,000)

8. Education is the debt that the present owes to the future.

9. America and American institutions are God's last chance to the human race.

10. The people of the United States spend three times as much at pleasure resorts and in joy riding as they do on the entire system of education.

11. Shall we pay the debt we owe to future generations ?

PROGRAM OF EDUCATION WEEK

The Education Week was sponsored this year by the National Education Association, the Bureau of Education, and the American Legion which is an organization of the American veterans of the last great war. They issued a program suggesting procedure for the observance in schools. It was so full of rich meaty suggestions that it is worth glancing through.

Each day in the week was set apart as a day of stressing some particular aspect of education which is nation-wide, rather than local, in its significance. The days of the week were observed as follows : Monday for American Constitution; Tuesday, Patriotism; Wednesday, School and Teacher; Thursday, Conservation and Thrift; Friday, Know your School; Saturday, Community and Health; Sunday, God and Country.

These suggested topics did not preclude various

States and localities from emphasizing upon those features of education which they thought needed particular attention. They were simply suggested as topics upon which the whole country could unite.

It is pleasing to observe that the directors of the Education Week program kept clear of empty academic discussion of mere philosophic abstractions. They tried to correlate educational problems to actual life of the nation. On Patriotism day, for instance, it was urged that voting and not mere flag-waving is the primary duty of every patriotic citizen. Patriotism is more than playing a flag game. In the same way, on Conservation of the natural resources of the country especially in the prevention of forest fires was inculcated. More, each student was urged to plant a tree.

Altogether it was a successful Education Week, and undoubtedly it resulted in much practical benefit for the nation. What a pity that India has not a national Education Week. Couldn't something like this be inaugurated in India? The leaders who entertain a friendly disposition toward the increase and diffusion of general enlightenment, should give the matter their serious consideration.

As a result of close contact with American educational system, I am convinced that there is no other royal road to political emancipation than education. "Progressive Civilization depends upon progressive education." Every boy and girl in the country should have an opportunity of receiving an education. The following statement by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, the late President of Harvard University, presents an ideal

well worth the effort of Young India to attain:

"In a democracy the public schools should enable any child to get the best training possible up to any year not for the humblest destinations only but for all destinations. This country wants the best schools for the masses, not for the classes. The American people already accept as one just aim for a democracy Napoleons's phrase "Every career open to talent."

CHAPTER XIX

COMMON SENSE IN EDUCATION

Education is the basis of the Greek state. — Diogenes
The common school is the cradle of America's greatness. — Theodore Parker.

Public education in America is wide-spread and is generally of hightype; but America is not content with it. Keen, discerning leaders of the nation are now insisting that training in character is the chief function of education. No school program which neglects moral training is worthy of serious attention.

One of the most important leaders in the field of character education in America to day is Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck. His work in character training in public schools has attracted much attention in America and Europe. Long ago a committee of educators, of which Dr. Starbuck was the chairman, won the prize of sixty thousand rupees for the best statement of methods of character education for public schools. It seems to me that in view of the increasing demand for moral teaching in Indian public education, it would be worth while to know something of Dr. Starbuck's "science of character."

Now what is character? The answer is near. It consists, according to Dr. Starbuck, in the whole-hearted response to personal and social values. The

moral person is the one who responds wholesomely to the fundamental life situations, such as "participation in civic duties, right attitude towards property, and wealth and their uses, respect for family relations including ideal love and care of offspring, refinements in social ways, response to things of beauty in nature and human nature, service to self and humanity through a vocation, the power of creative endeavor." "The best way to cultivate character is not by direct moral instruction, but indirect. Discourses on abstract ideals by ethical experts do little goods to the pupils. "We must stop rubbing 'The Virtues' into the mental skins of our children. We must reduce to a minimum all the direct moral appeals that are too apt to end in sentimentality or insincerity. We must minimize the introspection and vivisection that threaten to lead to paralysis, artificiality and introversion." Children are not inclined to abstract thinking. Genuine thinking for the youngsters must spring from the experiences they have had or about to have. Moral values must have their roots not in a formal morality code, but in their own vitalized experience.

That will sound like heresy to the devotees of the direct method of moral instruction. They may even brand Dr. Starbuck as a radical. In the strict sense of the term, he probably is a radical; but so was Confucius, so was Buddha, and so was Socrates. Where and when has there been a great teacher or leader who was not a radical? But anyone, not befuddled by theorizing, will see how eminently sane and practical Starbuck is.

Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck is a Professor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa. He is a philosopher by profession, and teacher by instinct. He is the author of a number of learned works on psychology and education. He has also been an important contributor of Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Apart from his learning and scientific scholarship which I greatly admire he specially appeals to me as a man of what the Germans call *Weltanschauung*, and which the English feebly translate as world outlook. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore once remarked to me in a letter: "I have been greatly attracted to Dr. Starbuck. I felt almost at the very sight of him that he was one of the few men whose heart belonged to all humanity."

Dr. Starbuck is the outstanding exponent in America of character training by indirect method. It is not to be inferred, of course, that direct moral instruction, is absolutely wrong. To a certain extent direct instruction, tactfully administered, may be of some help; but much cannot be expected from it. It has definite limitations. The indirect method, which Dr. Starbuck calls the natural method, is superior and far more effective. This method would have the pupils discover for themselves most of the virtues — good will, self-control, sympathy, helpfulness — through conduct. "The teachers of the world whom we honor" remarks Dr. Starbuck, "have gone heart first rather than head first at their task. They have not chopped nor dissected, nor defined the virtues. Why should you? They have lived naturally with those whom they have taught. Why not you? The truths they

have uttered have been living verities. The Buddha eschewed the logical ethical and theological smartness of his day and clung to the principle of Karma, the determining power of the deed. The fine-souled teacher of Nazareth went about doing good by quickening the conduct and impulses. He was the artist-teacher who uttered the precept or told the parable and left it doing its suggestive and impelling work. Was it not so with Socrates and has it not been so with every great teacher?" These words indicate the spirit in which Dr. Stubbs approaches the problem of moral education.

He should not be misunderstood. Perhaps his views could be made still clearer by the following "don'ts" which he uttered with the vision of a seer in a public address:

"Avoid, as you would a plague, too much direct moral instruction. Be the artist. Utter moral truths only when they are pregnant with meaning. Touch the strings of the child's nature with the delicacy with which an artist lures music from an instrument. When the occasion is right, strike the keys so vigorously that he feels 'the awful majesty of the moral law'. Don't preach at all. You'll only bore the youngster

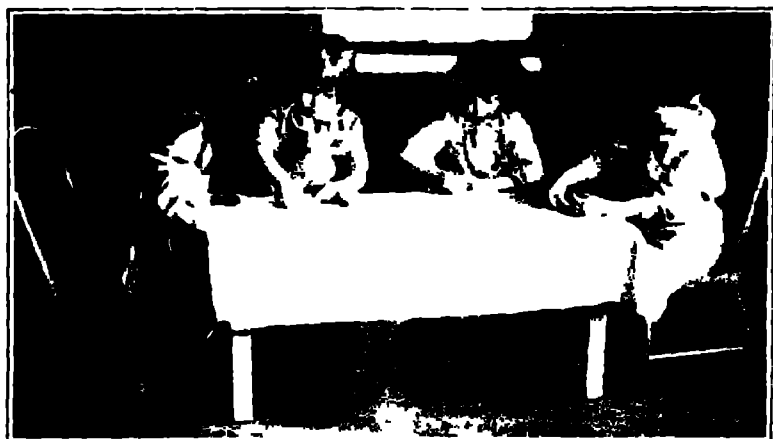
"Don't keep rubbing the virtues into the moral skins of the children. One of the methods, now in vogue would spend a month on each of several virtues, with appropriate poetry, narrative, story and discussion. A healthy-minded boy might well withstand a week of such discipline on the virtue of helpfulness, let us say, for he can be counted on to have the milk of human kindness in his heart and will like to abet the pedagogical passion of his teacher. But two weeks of it should bring irritation, three aggravation. A healthy, red-blooded boy should come out of the fourth week of such persistent piety with murder in his heart. .

"Be the artist. Don't moralize. Avoid telling the story or reciting the biography as a choice morsel and then spoil the digestion of the hearer by analyzing its content. In the words of Felix Adler, 'Don't pull the plum out of the moral pudding'. Leave the 'This Teaches us' and 'From this we learn' in the limbo of forgotten educational relics.

"Don't keep intellectualizing the virtues. They will become but curious pickled and mounted specimens of conduct. A cat or a flower or a virtue cannot endure too much dissecting.

"Finally, among these homely precepts, be very human and very natural. Don't be too serious. There has been historically too much pathos in our piety. The virtues were badges of entrance into immortality and the shadow of death has been about them. In this new world the good life is a way of living and a rather cheerful way of living at that."

Dr. Starbuck would have the youngsters consider situations rather than learn the catalogue of virtues. The one great advantage of this plan is that situations are definite and concrete, while virtues are abstract and subjective. Children's minds, like Tolstoy's, "go straight to the concrete as a horse to a manger full of oats." By centering attention upon facts and conditions which surround children, they will learn to master each situation as it arises. This wrestling with concrete facts will develop mental muscles, and give them moral ruggedness and refined judgments. In course of time they will have acquired the habits to make right response to country, friends, enemies, tasks, games. It is therefore the duty of the intelligent teacher to create live situations rather than extol abstract virtues and deliver so-called moral precepts. If any



Busy fingers modeling with art clay



Young Artists at Work



Playing house and Keeping Store in a Preschool Laboratory
(To face page 152)

Y
appreciable good has ever come out of direct moral preachment — sentimental snuffling and urging — I have not heard of it, and I doubt very much if Starbuck has.

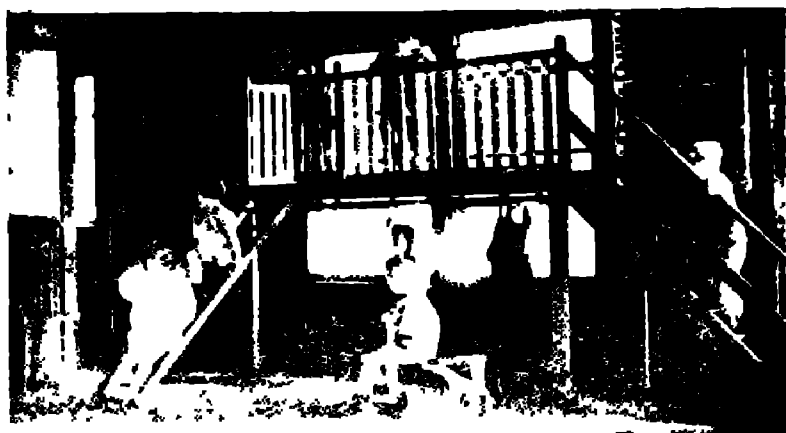
A simple example of practical training in conduct for the little folks may be readily cited. Suppose the lawns in the neighborhood of the school are being spoiled by some students and group of younger children undertake to protect the lawns. Now this work should consist not in the mere discussion of what might be done, but in the making of actual plans which they are to carry out. They may make little sign boards with such signs as: "Please Help Save the Grass", "Don't Spoil the Lawn", "Keep off the Grass". It is thought that if such a training could be given for meeting all moral situations the problem of ethical education would be very near solution.

Dr. Starbuck has prepared a series of interesting charts of projects and problems to enrich a character-training curriculum. Here are some of his suggestions: Two groups of students act out settlement of a quarrel; make a bird restaurant and support it collectively; make badges to wear on certain patriotic days; mother an orphan animal; make an observation trip to locate insect homes; give an exhibition of Spartan gymnastic training; play teacher in settling a quarrel; report to the municipal authorities breeding places of flies and mosquitos; establish a school bank; report on some martyrs and heroes of science; visit and study a bank; write a school creed; plan and earn money for dinner for adopted family; create beautiful

designs.

These and scores of other suggested projects involve the carrying of moral ideas into action. Such activities make for interest and insure a rigid training on the part of students. What is more important still is that the project involve, in most cases, a community of effort. "The spirit of the group vitalizes the interest of each one. The truest fellowships spring up among those devoted to common causes. The surest mark of the good person is his ability to enter sympathetically into the activities of a group and to accept his share in common enterprises. Habits of social responsiveness are the best training in moral responsibility". In the program of ethical instruction, all that the teacher should do would be to give hints and suggestions, and never under any circumstance moral homilies.

The old rule, "Spare the rod and spoil the child", has long long been in the discard in the progressive educational world. Goose stepping in education is thoroughly out of fashion. Pupils should be trusted always. They should be allowed, tactfully and gracefully, to learn from their own experience. There is practically no limit to their capacities to think their way through moral questions. "There is hardly any limit to the acumen and refinement of thought children can command when they face a real situation. There is hardly any thinking to which they can be driven when forced up against artificial situation". The aim of the cultural teacher should be not to enforce Prussian discipline, but to help every boy and girl, young man



Exercise room
Pre school Laboratory

(To face page 154)



Story hour in the
Home Laboratory

(To face page 154)

and woman, into a thoughtful grasp of life's purpose and values. And if there is anything—all in the students, he will in time develop creatively.

Dr. Starbuck, with the aid of a staff of research assistants, is now engaged in preparing a detailed classified bibliography that will give school teachers quick access to the choicest materials on character education. "Teachers must have reference," says Dr. Starbuck, "to the best stories that stir the impulses of courage and heroism, and the choicest poems that awaken a sense of the beauty of natural objects, the records in history that show the possibility of service through wealth, songs that voice the spirit of love and loyalty, and so on through an endless tools of culture that can vitalize and give moral significance to everything that is done." With the aid of such a bibliography which will utilize the best wealth of material now available in story, poetry, drama, tradition, the teacher will be able to help the pupils in establishing habits of moral reaction.

The question may be asked: Should religion be included in ethical teaching? That depends upon the meaning of the word religion. To Dr. Starbuck, religion consists in whole-hearted response to ideal values such as beauty, reverence for the divine order of the world. He sympathizes with the aims of those who would include religion, founded upon broad principles, in a program of moral training. Liberal in religious and social questions, he holds however, that true religion has nothing to do with fabulous yarns, creeds, dogmas, and all the other cargo of beliefs invented

by theology. With all his gentle, warm affection for his fellowmen, Starbuck, I believe, would make a cannibalistic holiday for all such non-essentials of theological category. Well, why not? For one, I can surely offer no strong objection.

In the Western world of today, culture, not sectarian religion, is the ultimate court of appeal. Social and psychological changes leave huge sections of theology high and dry on the shores of time. Theological creeds and dogmas are merely the handiwork of man. They come and go as women's fashion plates; they serve their time, they pale and die, and are forgotten. John Calvin, who piled the faggots around the Spanish physician, Servetus, because of his denial of the Trinity was regarded by the Christians of his day as a religious saint. Roasting a live man at the stake, for creedal differences, was supposed to please God and the Holy Ghost. I am not an expert on ghostly matters; but I have always maintained that Calvin was a creed-monger. Most of the Calvinists, however, are now civilized and have developed better morals. Today the creeds and dogmas of John Calvin no longer hold the intellect of Scotland in their paralyzing grip, as they did years ago. Humanity has risen supreme over Calvinism, as it ever will over every other creed of the practitioners of theology. As I see it, the religion that counts most in this sul vale of tears is the religion of heart, the religion of mercy and pity and charity.

The future welfare of the citizens of a nation is in the schools. They should be the power house of

inspiration. Schools which build character, which produce intelligent and public spirited citizenship, are among the greatest assets of a country. For after all, the purpose of education is not merely to make a living but a life. This is the time for educational reconstruction in India. We need better schools, and better teachers. At present some of our teachers are as competent to teach as a troupe of chimpanzees to play the vina. We should know only one aristocracy : the aristocracy of competence and culture. Our country wants the best youth with the best training. May the schools of the future in India become the true Temples of Wisdom, and the teachers their authentic High Priests!

CHAPTER XX

SUMMER COLLEGES

It seems strange that college and school buildings in India should stand practically empty through the long period of summer vacation. Why should books and valuable laboratory apparatus be idle when they can be used to extend the frontiers of knowledge? Does the mind of the student cease to grow during the long summer recess?

The regular college year in America begins in the middle of September and ends the first week of June. This provides for more than three months of summer vacation — altogether too long a period of rest for any healthy young man with eager mind. A way has to be found to utilize the long summers for productive education.

UTILIZE SUMMER VACATION

The leading colleges and universities throughout the United States have special summer sessions. The courses they teach are of standard grade, and completed work receives proportionate college credit in the same way as during the rest of the year. In the main the professors are drawn from the older members of the regular staff on the college, but a goodly number of experts are also employed for the summer from other institutions. In all departments a rich offering



Engineering Building
University of Wisconsin
(To see page 1)



BARNHARD HALL.
University of Wisconsin
(To see page 178)

of courses is made for undergraduates. Many of the courses are such as are not given during the rest of the year, and all are so ordered as to dovetail into the regular courses offered during the academic year. For teachers, who have been unable to complete the work for B. A. degrees, this arrangement is of incalculable value.

Advanced courses are also given for post-graduate students. The proportion of such students being usually large in the summer enrollment, special facilities are offered for intensive study and research. The post-graduate work is so co-ordinated that it may be continued for successive summers without duplication. This permits students to forward their studies in summer towards a M. A., or Ph. D. degree.

The advantages of attending a Summer Session are so patent that in the last decade the enrollment of summer students has increased from 10,000 to 250,000. The Summer Session represents an organized use of leisure time. It all goes to show that an increasing number of students with intellectual ardor are utilizing their vacations to a good purpose. No one has a right to say that they are incapable of thinking, and that they should not acquire a college education from June to September.

The present writer was engaged, a few weeks ago, in teaching at a Summer Session of one of the best known government universities in the country. He found summer study quite popular among college students. They were hard working industrious men and women, who were relentless in their search for

learning.

Summer students, as a rule, are a bit older and more mature. I had in one of my classes a student who was well over sixty. She was apparently as knowledge hungry as the rest of her classmates, who were on an average thirty years younger. According to educators at Columbia University who have experimented with adult capacities for learning new subjects, people are never too old to learn. Up to the age of fifty, everyone has an equal chance to master a new subject. After that age limit, the learning capacity decreases about one per cent.

EDUCATION'S INDUSTRY

The major industry of America appears to be not automobiles, or steel, or railroads, or oil, but education. Were the assets of all the college and university endowments counted up, the figure would reach an astounding total of many billions.

"Cursed be he who burdens discussion with facts," is the edict of many a decrepit pedagogue. I am, however, willing to brave the holy wrath, and indicate why education is one of the biggest industries of the United States. Consider, for instance, the huge amount of money tied up in educational "plants."

Harvard University has 207 million rupees; Columbia, 177 millions; Yale, 123 millions; Chicago, 103 millions; Leland Stanford, close to 84 millions, Carnegie Technology, Northwestern, and Princeton struggle along with a paltry 30 millions to 45 millions; and even the sorriest of institutions gets

over the 3 million rupees mark or perishes. Education is really one of the most important enterprises in which American society is engaged.

Gifts are made no longer by the thousands, but by the millions. George Baker, the New York railroad magnate, has just added 3 million to the original 15 million rupees he donated to the Harvard Business School. This is representative of the scale on which the endowments pile up. Thus it is not surprising to read that Princeton University has just received over 7 lacs of rupees for a mere theatre. If America is a land of millionaires, they at least know how to make their millions serve the cause of education, research, and knowledge.

GET AN EDUCATION

American universities have grown enormously in recent years. In 1902 Columbia University of New York, for instance, had only 1,600 students. Today the registration at Columbia has reached the staggering total of 44,000. In 1902 the Columbia University budget was three million rupees a year. Today it is thirty-three million rupees a year. Millions have been spent on buildings and grounds. The endowment has grown correspondingly.

No one, of course, is lunatic enough to maintain that mere college buildings and equipment constitute education. They are only instruments – instruments to prepare folks to serve their fellowmen and their country. And what is this preparation but another term for education? Moreover, that education is positively defective which “so shrivels one’s heart as

to separate him in sympathy from his fellows, " or to turn against the public " the weapons put into his hand by the public for the promotion of common weal. " Liberal education should be available, throughout the entire year, not for a seedy leisure class but for all classes which are to determine the future welfare or ill-fare of the nation.

That college education has been a very important element in American success is true beyond a shadow of a doubt. The current *Who's Who In America*, which publishes 27,000 sketches of successful Americans, notes that practically 77 percent of these persons attended college. The reason why higher education is so greatly in demand is because it has proved to be the determining factor in the attainment of the most desirable positions in life.

At the end of the Great war, thousands and thousands of young men released from military service rushed in for college education. Consequently, colleges and universities were so overcrowded that they raised the standards of admission to keep out the flood of young people, many of whom were regarded as unfit for higher education. Whether these students were of the type which could profit much by college training is a disputed question. The thing, however, which interests me most in the American system, especially after the late war, is its incessant and insistent stress upon the nationalistic character of education.

SCHOOLS TO PROPAGATE NATIONALISM

Nationalism, as has so often been noted by histori-



University Hall in the Harvard College
yard at Cambridge, Mass.

(To face page 162)



Members of the Department of
Political Science, State University of Iowa.

(To face page 162)

ans, is a cultural phenomenon. It can be acquired from one person to another. Not being "in the blood," it cannot be transmitted biologically from one generation to another. Like any other cultural product, nationalism can be built and acquired by means of education. If in India we have been indifferent to our nationalism until lately, it is simply because we neglected - even positively despised - the kind of education which develops robust nationalism.

Education in America has been looked upon from the very beginning of its existence as the greatest engine of creating nationalism. To the end that the masses may be literate and patriotic, the state established and maintained schools for all its citizens. Thus the Constitution of Massachusetts, which was adopted in 1780 contained the following provision :

"Wisdom, and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of Legislatures and Magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the university at Cambridge (Harvard), public schools and grammar schools in the towns."

— America, of all the Western countries, was the first nation to establish and maintain government-aided schools for all citizens, in order that they may be loyal and patriotic. After the United States came France, whose Constitution of 1791 had this provision :

"There shall be created and organized a system of public instruction common to all citizens and gratuitous in respect of those subjects of instruction that are indispensable to all men. Schools of various grades shall be supplied according to need over the entire kingdom. National holidays shall be designated for the purpose of preserving the memory of the French Revolution, of developing the spirit of fraternity among all citizens, and of attaching them to the constitution, the country, and the laws."

In Prussia, King Frederick William II issued in 1794 the edict:

"Schools and universities are state institutions, charged with the instruction of youth in useful information and scientific knowledge; such institutions may be founded only with the knowledge and consent of the state;... . . . all public schools and educational institutions are under the supervision of the state, and are at all times subject to its examination and inspection."

In England, the state did not assume responsibility for elementary education till 1870. England made instruction obligatory in 1880, and free in 1891, and the national Board of Education was organized only in 1899. At the present time virtually all modern countries, possessing conscious nationality, have some system of state-supported national schools.

I know the worst that can be said against America; but to me the most significant fact about this country is that it offers every boy and girl, rich or poor, the opportunity to get an education. Education is the heritage of American youth. It is regarded not merely a precious boon, but a patriotic duty.

What we require most urgently in India now is not the narcotic teachings of *Brahmgyam* and *Mukti*, but as the lamented Sister Nivedita said long ago a sturdy "philosophy of citizenship"—a gospel of education and action which will help us win our full share in the vitality of the world. Are we capable of energizing our culture? If so, let us prove our capacity. We have a long way to go. Our schools and colleges should be all-year social laboratories. They should teach us the best ways of living together, of taking an active part in the affairs of the nation and the world.

CHAPTER XXI

RADIO IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Of all the mechanical wonders of the modern world, radio perhaps stands first. It is no longer considered a luxury for the rich city dweller in America, but almost a necessity for every one, especially for the farmer in the country side.

The radio brings to its owner the very latest news, weather forecasts, market reports, music, opera, singing—whatever he cares to hear. When he is tired of one program, he can slightly move the tuning dial—a quarter of an inch, maybe—and he gets something new. He has hundreds of different programs to choose from.

GROWTH OF RADIO

Radio came into use only a few years ago. It is still in its early infancy. But the radio industry, in its development and use, has far exceeded the advance in aviation and automobile.

The manufacturers of radio apparatus have struck a gold mine. In 1920 the Radio Corporation of America, for instance, sold Rs. 6,000,000. worth of receiving sets. Last year its sales amounted to Rs. 11,000,000. This company is now employing 250,000 persons. It means, at a conservative guess, that one family out of every 100 is supported by the industry.

One runs across radio in this country not only in private homes, but in such public places as shops, hotels, schools, colleges, jails, churches, and various industrial plants. Music, news, and education seem to be always in the air. When the President was inaugurated, I was a thousand miles from Washington; but I heard every word he spoke clearly and distinctly.

America has more radio sets and more stations sending programs by broadcasting—or radio-casting—than any other country in the world. There are in the United States 4,000,000 radio receiving sets, against 9,000,000 gramophones and 22,000,000 automobiles.

There are 600 broadcasting stations throughout the Republic. The important cities have many stations, each giving its own program. In the small university town where I live there are no less than three broadcasting stations functioning. The Greater New York City has about 50 stations. Competition, to secure public favour, is naturally very keen among the rival stations.

As a disseminator of news, radio may be said to belong to the newspaper. Twenty-two leading newspapers of the country own and operate broadcasting stations. Many others broadcast news through arrangement with stations they do not own.

There are as many types of radio sets as motor cars. These sets vary in price from thirty to eighteen hundred rupees. The average range of the low-priced machines does not exceed twenty-five miles. It should be remembered, however, that the higher priced set

does not necessarily reach more miles or produce more volume. The service of the radio depends a good deal upon weather conditions, local buildings, hills, and other obstructions. The night range is approximately ten times that of the daylight range. In winter, when trees have lost their conductive sap and when the air is dry, greater distances can be reached.

EDUCATION BY RADIO

Radio is being used in America not only for amusement and recreation, but for broadcasting instruction to those unable to go to college. Realizing that there are great numbers of men and women, who are eager for education, but lack the necessary time and money for college work, many higher institutions of learning are broadcasting college courses. Radio, as school equipment, is rapidly taking its place with maps, books and blackboards. In a few years to come every home will have a radio set, just as every home has now a piano.

The Kansas State Agricultural College, which is one of the best colleges of its kind in America, is the first institution in the world to offer a regular course of systematic instruction by radio. It has instituted what is known as "The College of the Air". Anyone, man or woman, of any age, who has a radio set is eligible to take the courses offered by the Air college. The student in proper time receives a certificate stating that the recipient "has satisfactorily completed the work and passed the required examinations in the first regular college course to be given by radio" by the Kansas State Agricultural College.

No charge is made for the radio course to a native Kansan. There is only a nominal fee of less than two rupees a subject to students enrolling from other States than Kansas.

Most courses are of only two months' duration. The printed lecture is mailed to all registered students the day after it is broadcast. At the close of each course, examination questions are mailed to students enrolled. And answers are expected to be returned within a month.

COLLEGE OF THE AIR

The far-famed College of the Air offers forty radio courses, which are of especial interest to farmers. *The New York Popular Radio* in describing the work of this unique institution says :

" Interesting information on subjects ranging from law to the beef-cattle industry, from the feeding of babies to the writing of business letters are broadcast throughout the school year. Lectures are given Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings for four semesters of eight weeks each, during the school year.

" Monday and Tuesday evenings are devoted to lectures on agriculture.

" On Wednesday evenings the engineer has his innings, How to build the house and landscape the grounds; a discussion of autotruck and tractor troubles and a dozen other subjects are listed.

" How to keep the baby from crying, how to keep your husband from growling, how to save your money, your strength, how to make dresses and hats look like Paris models, — all these are taught to any aspiring woman who tunes in on Thursday evening.

"On Friday evening the division of General Science presents lectures on such subjects as public speaking, business English, law, sociology, music, chemistry, zoology, and botany.

"Kansas is 400 miles long, 200 miles wide, 4,000 miles deep and 'as high as the heavens'. Her agricultural college announces the weekly program. Tonight, for example, the Male Quartet and the Girls' Glee Club will entertain you a few minutes with selections portraying college life. These numbers will give you a breath of campus atmosphere; the head of the Poultry Department will interrupt the melodies long enough to give some new facts which the experiment station has learned about profitable poultry production; his suggestions on management of breeding-stock, selection of hatching eggs, and artificial incubation and brooding are practical and timely. Each Monday night some specialist in poultry work will discuss feeding, care and management of baby chicks. Parasites and natural enemies of the farm flock which often sell ruin to this important side line to the business of farming will be subjects of discussion later. And thus the nation has become the new campus of the Kansas State Agricultural College."

After my first lecture through the microphone a year or so ago, I became a radio enthusiast. I am still a great believer in the educational possibilities of the radio. It may not develop profound scholars; but as a means of stimulating minds and suggesting lines of thought radio will prove of great value.

Time may come, some day, when the radio will be used to send broadcast knowledge and inspiration all around this globe. Today President Coolidge can speak over the radio to all the people of this continent; tomorrow he may be able to speak to all the people of

the five continents. When radio has completely annihilated distance, then our great earth — 25,000 miles round — Will be reduced for educational purposes to the size of an ordinary lecture hall. Why not ? To science nothing seems impossible.

CHAPTER XXII

EDUCATION OF THE BLIND

The blind in India, as a rule, are a liability to society. In America, where there is ample provision for the education of the blind, they are an asset. To be sure there are a few institutions for the blind in India; but they are wholly inadequate to the needs. India, a country of magnificent distances, should have at least one well-equipped school for the blind in every Province.

Recently I paid a visit to the Iowa School for the Blind in Vinton, and was immensely impressed by its record of achievements. During the seventy-five years of its existence, over 1600 students have been enrolled at the School for the Blind.

What do the students do when they leave the school? Are they able to support themselves? These questions were answered for me by Mr. Francis E. Palmer, the Superintendent of the institution. According to him, some of the former students have become teachers, others doctors, yet others have become merchants. The blind of the Iowa School are numbered among the successful salesmen, broom-makers, and piano tuners.

Many of the girls have become successful home-



The Iowa School
for the Blind
Vinton, Iowa

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Pyramid Build

(To face page 173)



Flower Dance

(To face page 173)

makers, and professional musicians. Moreover, there are lawyers, librarians, welfare workers, canvassers, farmers, factory employees, and newspaper correspondents who were formerly students of the Iowa School. The record is typical of other such institutions in the United States. The money spent in the training of the sightless is naturally regarded by Americans in the nature of a most worthy investment rather than an offering of charity.

Like most state schools for the blind in America, the Iowa School for the Blind is free. Any boy or girl belonging to the State of Iowa, between the ages of five and twenty-one, who is so handicapped in seeing as to be unable to obtain an education in the schools for the sighted, may be admitted to the Iowa School for the Blind without any cost. All his expenses, including those of room and board, are paid by the government.

Academically speaking the school offers practically the same course of study as do the best high schools of the country for the seeing. Graduates of the Iowa School for the Blind are admitted to university without examination. This year we have a blind student from the Iowa School who is carrying on his major studies in Political Science at the State University of Iowa. He intends to enter a Law College before long.

Besides the academic work, the School offers courses in music as well as industrial courses. The courses in music include the following: piano, organ, violin, voice. There is in connection with the music department a well-organized orchestra, a kinder band, and a stringed quartet. The object of these organizations

is to enable every pupil, if possible, to find some means of expressing himself or herself through the media of music.

Splendid opportunities are offered for industrial training, including thorough training in basket weaving, rug and carpet weaving, chair caning, broom making, piano tuning, sewing, cooking, knitting, crocheting. This work has a two-fold object: first, to promote the interest or education through the training of the hand; second, to prepare for a vocation. It is believed that the blind, no less than the seeing, should have trained hands, trained heads, trained hearts. An adequate preparation for some useful and self-supporting vocation should be the basis of education in modern society.

The movement for the education of the blind is not very old. To the French belongs the credit for the first practical attempt to alleviate the affliction of those who walk in the "darkness of continuous night." It began under the leadership of Valentin Haüy in 1784.

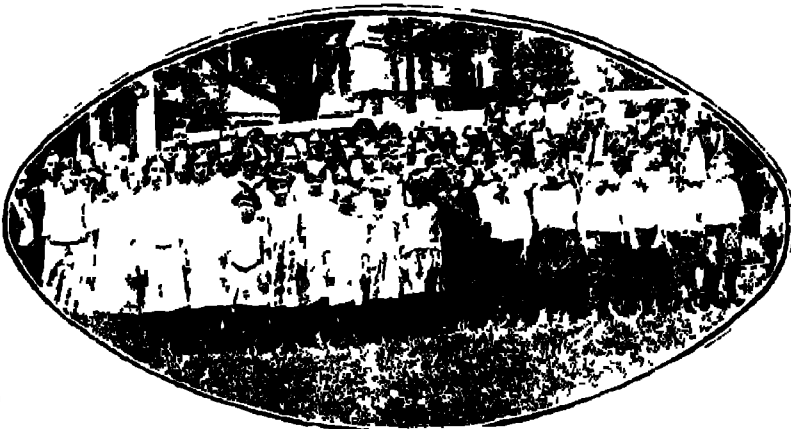
From France the movement spread to England, Germany, and other countries of Europe. The first school for the education of the blind in England was started at Liverpool at about 1791.

The movement reached the United States in 1829, under the leadership of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who founded the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston. It has now acquired an international fame. This is a fair example of Yankee educational enterprise. Indeed education of the blind in the United States rests today



May day fete.

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The School for the Blind on Pagent Day.

(To face page 171)



The Iowa School for the Blind
cast of "Merchant of Venice"

(To face page 175)



At the Iowa School for the Blind,
Handiwork of Students

(To face page 175)

on an ample and solid foundation. It is an integral part of the general policy of universal education. How, in the name of God and commonsense, could it be anything else ?

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CRIPPLED ARE HEALED

Salvaging human beings is not mere a work of philanthropy, but an essential part of nation building. What is India doing to repair the crippled bodies of its boys and girls ? Has any thing at all been done to provide medical and surgical treatment for the crippled in India ?

The International Society for Crippled Children was organized in America in 1919, and has its headquarters at Elyria, Ohio. The Society aims to induce all States in this Federal Republic to care medically and surgically for those unable to pay themselves, at public cost. The Society for Crippled is a lay organization, although physicians are members of it. Its activities do not end with the rehabilitation of crippled bodies. That is only a part of its reclamation work. As the Society puts it :

“ We must never lose sight of the ultimate objective. It can never be simply a work of human repair to which we are committing ourselves, but to something more far-reaching, nothing less in fact than the complete eradication of crippledom.

“ As everyone knows, such splendid progress has been made through the development of medical and surgical knowledge that astonishing and almost miraculous results of reclamation are possible. But we must aim at more than that.



An X-ray examination helps determine
the cause of crooked and diseased bones.

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" This is a case where the old adage applies with tremendous force and point—Prevention is better than cure. The sources of the trouble must be stopped, for cripples will be produced as long as the causes remain.

" There must go on, side by side with the reclamation of cripples, for which we are today so wonderfully equipped—the education of the people in the physical basis of health and also in the moral sanctities of life and in the creation of the family. Thus the problem of the crippled child touches upon the whole question of the moral and spiritual, as well as the physical well-being of mankind. "

There are at present two different plans for attacking the crippled child problem: the " Iowa plan ", and the " Ohio plan ". They both have strong and weak features.

Iowa renders all medical and surgical service for children at the Children's Hospital, and for adults at the University Hospital. These institutions are both located in Iowa City, and are part of the Medical School unit of the State University of Iowa. The cost is met by a single State appropriation. Toward this fund all the counties of the State of Iowa contribute their share.

The Iowa plan is built around the State University. It lacks convalescent care, after contacts, and special educational provisions for the handicapped.

The State of Ohio provides medical and surgical treatment for crippled children at public expense. Ohio, however, renders the service, not in one hospital—as in Iowa—but in any hospital approved by the State Department of Public Welfare. The Department pays for the cost of the physical care of crippled.

children whom it makes its wards. This entire cost is then charged back to the home counties from which come the unfortunate children. It is admitted that charging each county for its patients presents serious difficulties in the poorer counties with depleted treasuries.

Ohio has other laws for care of crippled children. It requires, according to a student of the subject, that school census enumerators take an annual census of crippled children to see that all are examined. It provides government subsidy and supervision for special classes in public schools and homes, and bedside teaching of crippled children. Moreover, it maintains convalescent homes for patients who need no surgical treatment or who are recuperating from such treatment.

Both Iowa and Ohio require public officers to interest themselves in the physical well-being of the crippled child. In both States, any parent may apply to the Juvenile Court for commitment of a crippled child to hospital care. It is the duty of physicians, public health officers, peace officers, and school teachers to make application in both States.

In brief, Ohio takes a census of cripples and provides special education for those who need it. Iowa does not do that. Both Ohio and Iowa, however, provide medical and surgical service at public cost. Iowa's service is centralized as to treatment and payment of expense. Ohio's is decentralized in both respects. Ohio takes the service to the cripple, while Iowa takes the cripple to the service.

The average of cripples in the United States is

six per thousand. Of these six, three are under twenty-one years of age and three are adults. On this basis, what will be the total of the crippled people in India? Last year Iowa treated over eight thousand patients at the University and Children's hospitals. They received from the government three million rupees for medical care of indigent persons.

The task of those who are interested in the crippled child problem is not merely to see that the twisted limbs are made straight by the skill of a surgeon. That is only part of the picture of salvaging cripples. The medical phase of the problem, asserts the International Society for Crippled Children, comprises much less than fifty per cent of the undertaking.

"It is not too much to say", maintains the International Society, "that the whole problem is more than 90 per cent an educational one, if we include the training of various types of custodial cases.

"It is to be remembered that the great result to be sought ultimately is the production of self-supporting and, therefore, happy and contented citizens. Therefore, every State program must be built to include home teaching, special classes and special schools.

"Costs of educating the physically handicapped are greater than those for normal pupils, and these excess costs should be borne largely by the State. It is well to say, too, that special education must be carried on while medical work is being done".

The cripple has the right to get a fair proportion of attention in the matter of education from the govern-

ment, as is provided in America for the education of the deaf and the blind. Moreover, the kind of education suitable for crippled children, in the main is no different than that given to other children of similar mental status. Many are thought to be educationally retarded; but they do not constitute a mentally inferior group. Physical defects do not necessarily imply mental defects.

Recent surveys in Cleveland and New York showed that from 47 per cent to 63 per cent of all cripples received their disability before the age of 16 years. A Chicago survey showed that 83 per cent received their disability before they were 6 years old.

The Chicago survey found that 69 per cent of crippling was due to disease and 25 per cent to congenital causes.

In Chicago, 90 per cent of the crippled children were found to have disability of the legs and but 27 per cent to have disability of the arms. No speech defects were found in 73 per cent and no apparent mental handicap in 86 per cent.

The Chicago survey found that 88 per cent of the crippled children had had orthopedic care but that only 48 per cent had received early treatment. The problem is not to find the cripple but find him early and keep him under regular care.

Medical authorities declare that infantile paralysis, bone tuberculosis, and rickets are the most common causes of crippling. Some of these diseases cannot be prevented, because no one knows for sure what brings



Occupation of the crippled children
by lessons in the arts and crafts
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Occupation of the crippled children
by lessons in the arts and crafts
(To face page 180)

them about. We can, however, save their victims from the worst effects. We can at least work for the amelioration of some of their pitiful conditions, if we have the proper social vision. Nearly all cripples, children or adults, are worth taking an interest in. Economically this welfare work is sound; humanely, it is right.

The seventh annual convention of the International Society for Crippled Children met not long ago at Memphis, Tennessee. "No movement of modern times has so touched the hearts of man as that for the benefit of crippled children", declared a delegate. "Improvement of the condition of the cripple is both an economic and a humanitarian necessity. The very joy of the service more than repays every citizen who contributes to it. No society which does not look after its unfortunates can long endure".

Another delegate to the Memphis Convention asserted that it is a short-sighted policy to ignore the cripple. "If our hearts are not touched", he said, "then our economic motives should move us to action in their behalf. Ninety per cent of these cripples can be made self-supporting. If we make them self-supporting, we have served the nation".

The glory of India is believed to be its essential spirituality. If it be so, let us summon the conscience, the pride and the spirit which made India great to the performance of one of its most sacred duties, to the rehabilitation of the delinquents and defectives. When we do that, it will be a greater victory for humanity and social justice than we have perhaps yet achieved.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROGRESS IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The one constant wail of visiting Indians in America is that Americans are not other-worldly, not spiritually-minded. They love to berate this country because it is "more absorbed with the economics of this life than with the geography of the next". The more intelligent elements in the American population have indeed no mind, at present, to be precipitated into heaven or else-where. Christian demonology has become a drug on the import and export market. Nobody, outside a very limited circle, seems to want any of it. The fact is that theology, to change the figure, has ceased as a popular indoor sport to be the preoccupation of all civilized countries.

Americans are a nation of pragmatists. They have little respect for sheer meditative life. Americans scorn knowledge which does not lead to action. Knowledge is power, not an ornament; "it is not an opinion to be held but a work to be done". We in India may not be ready to swallow the pragmatic philosophy hook, bait and sinker; but we have much to learn from the United States.

CALL TO YOUTH

While attending this week the Fifth Commonwealth Conference, held under the auspices of the State

University of Iowa, I was impressed by the general desire to make the results of latest scientific researches in politics and economics apply to the actual business of government. Speaker after speaker maintained that the chief function of a university is to train leaders for aggressive participation in the active life of the nation, is to prepare men and women for efficient public service.

"Learn one thing well and above all the art of service," advised Professor William B. Munroe, of Harvard University, in his talk to the students. "Service is rental for the space you occupy and the privilege you enjoy." Again: "I expect to see the time come when it will be considered just as foolish to permit someone to practise politics who is not properly trained as it now is to permit an untrained doctor or lawyer to hang out his shingle."

University training is an invaluable aid to young men and women who wish to dedicate their lives for the betterment of their country. "In the political field the college has a definite function in the training of leaders for towns," remarked Professor A. R. Hatton, of the Western Reserve University. "Let us grind into our students the idea of owing something to their cities. None are too good to serve the municipality."

In addition to being a university professor, Mr. Hatton serves and adorns the Municipal Council of the rising city of Cleveland, Ohio. He speaks with the full knowledge of one who has for years wrestled with intricate municipal problems. Hatton is no mere

university "look bug". The crusader in behalf of better city government feels, therefore, justified in urging that if the younger generation does not take its civic duties seriously and has no conscience about the country then there would be chaos. College-trained men because of their superior brain-power, courage and ruthless energy should be, by long odds, the most effective leaders in the conduct and management of public affairs.

SHAME OF CITIES

The Fifth Commonwealth Conference, which attracted leading men and women from all over the country, devoted itself to problems of municipal government and administration. Nearly a quarter of a century ago the late Lord Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* observed that the American city government is a conspicuous failure. That statement by Bryce, with all its joyous exaggeration, is no longer true. Corruption in municipal governments still exists, but not to the same extent. City government has improved remarkably in the last score of years. Municipal officials are interested in progress. They welcome new ideas of how to serve. The worst city government in the United States now has standards equal to the ordinary business and above those of the home. The cities now are far in advance of the State and Federal (corresponding to Indian Provincial and Central) governments in adopting scientific principles of government. The ascendancy thus gained will produce the governmental and political leadership of the future.

This is far from saying that American municipal institutions are perfect and that they have acquitted themselves gloriously under all circumstances. The long distance between the "is" and "is-to-be" has yet to be traveled.

Protected vice, gambling, prostitution, wholesale murder, gaudy bribery, illicit sale of liquor and opium are not unknown in American cities. That is only half the woeful tale. Occasionally officials have been caught stealing a little, and wasting a great deal more. Now and then flannel-mouthed demagogues win elections and take to experimenting with the Ten Commandments, while the civilized minority stays home and twirls its thumb. By a sort of political Graham's law, it all tends to drive civic decency out of circulation.

The theory of the dilentante politician has been: "It is a whole lot better to have people wrong and satisfied than right and dissatisfied." That theory is now practically knocked into the discard. The gay and goatish days of cheap political charlatans are coming to an end. Indeed, the oldtime crooks and top mountebanks in city councils are about to run for the cover, while the Demos is waking up.

The student of Political Science should remember that while the difficulties of municipal government have increased ten fold since America was founded, human intelligence has not improved one bit. To contrast the modern high-speed city government of today with that of fifty or even twenty-five years ago, is to compare the horse with the air-plane. The

most hopeful factor in the situation is that Americans maintain a healthy pessimistic attitude toward their municipal government. Experts and trained technicians are the coming influences in the management of city government. It may be corrupt in spots, but it is no longer content. People are waking up to their civic duties towards municipal government.

PROGRAMME OF REFORM

The task of developing a complex civilization, such as one finds in America, is never an easy one. What was formerly left to individual enterprise and initiative is now undertaken by the government on behalf of the public. The government intervenes in public health, public welfare, education, the control of traffic and fires, the cleaning of the streets, the control of public utilities, the establishment of parks and playgrounds. Once all these things were private concerns. Now they are publicly managed.

Moreover, the heterogeneity of the American population makes the city government still more difficult. Take Chicago, the second largest city on this continent. Chicago is, as the present mayor pointed out, the sixth German city in the world. It is the second Negro city on the globe; it is also a great Polish city and an Italian city comparable in population to Naples.

Chicago, like most American cities, is made up of diverse unrelated minorities. They may be of American birth; but they are often divided by unequal economic status as well as by hereditary religious and racial issues. When I think of the

black hates, fears and suspicions which split up the American peoples, I surely find no reason to despair of the Hindu-Moslem problem in India. Some day, somehow, I feel it in my bones that the ideal will be realized—at least in part. Already the process of education in common good for common weal, both in India and in America, has begun. That is a distinct gain.

A wave of municipal reforms is sweeping over this country. The reformers want "to give cities more power of self-government, to extend their control over public utilities, and to make the city administration a more human and serviceable institution." The reform measures are designed to improve city government for the welfare of the entire population.

PLEDGE FOR BETTER CITY

A very heartening trend of the reform movement is the organization of municipal research bureaus in large cities. These bureaus provide "for the organized acquisition of facts and information, and for the systematic application of thought." The first Bureau of Municipal Research was established in New York City some twenty years ago. Since then similar agencies have been created, largely through the support of public-minded citizens, in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Paul, San Francisco, Kansas City, and a score of smaller communities. The activities of the research bureaus have resulted in some very notable work which has saved the taxpayers many millions of rupees, and permanently raised the standards of municipal service.

Those in India who wish to keep in touch with American municipal government and administration, will find the following periodicals of especial help: *American City* (New York City, New York); *American Municipalities* (Marshalltown, Iowa); *National Municipal Review* (Concord, New Hampshire).

There is no monopoly of civic intelligence and civic virtue in these United States. Whatever progress America has achieved, India can also attain.

The Indian people appear to be now manifesting a live interest in the affairs of municipalities. No doubt they realize that India is being transformed slowly but surely, from a rural to an urban public. Indian cities are coming to be vital and dominating centers. The progressive political thoughts and ideals of Indian cities will dominate the Provincial and Central governments, and eventually shape the whole national destiny.

To the loyal sons and daughters of Hindustan who feel for her, have faith in her ideal mission, and want to lift her to greatness and glory, I respectfully commend this ancient Athenian Pledge:

"We will never bring disgrace to this our city, by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our comrades; we will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many; we will revere and obey the city laws, and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in others; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty; that thus in all these ways, we may transmit this city, greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

CHAPTER XXV

CARRYING EDUCATION TO MASSES

"The success or failure of Democracy depends on public opinion. The Chautauqua movement has probably done more toward keeping American public opinion informed, alert and unbiassed than any other movement. The press has come to be regarded, like advertising, as warped by special interests. The pulpit is restricted as to subject matter and manner of treatment. The moving picture screen is for the future and offers possibilities as yet unknown for good or ill. But the Chautauqua platform has kept above suspicion as the greatest agency of popular education."

So wrote Irving Fisher, Professor of Political Economy of Yale University. But what is Chautauqua? What is its scope and what are its ideals?

Chautauqua (pronounced, shu - tak' - wa) is an agency of disseminating general culture among the masses. It is a moveable forum which carries its message to some ten thousand cities and villages, and is attended by about thirtyfive million people annually. These figures tell the tale. No other institution, barring possibly the press, can hope to equal it as an instrument of social uplift.

The Chautauqua program is as varied as human nature. It runs practically the whole gamut of the arts and sciences. The general program embraces lectures, music, dramatic plays, impersonations,

children's work, and other features. There is something to suit every palate.

The program is rendered by men and women, who are authorities in their several fields. Among the lecturers who appeared on the Chautauqua platform one finds Viscount Bryce, Booker T. Washington, William Jennings Bryan, Professor William James of Harvard, United States Senators, Governors of States, and Presidents of the United States of America. They are not only experts in their line, but men who have won the respect and confidence of their fellow-beings by their achievements. It is only men of this type who are given a place on the much coveted Chautauqua program.

Chautauquas are held under huge tents during summer months, usually from June to September. They have two programs a day, one in the afternoon and another in the evening. The Chautauqua session lasts about seven days in a town.

It is difficult to overestimate the value of Chautauqua as the American people's summer school. "If I were a cartoonist," wrote Doctor Edwin F. Slosson who is the editor of American Science Service, "I should symbolize Chautauqua by a tall Greek goddess, a sylvan goddess, with leaves in her hair — not vine leaves, but oak, and tearing open the bars of a cage wherein had been confined a bird, say an owl, labelled 'Learning.' For that is what Chautauqua has done for the world — it has turned learning loose."

Back of this great Chautauqua movement there is an interesting history. It began in the August of



A chautauqua tent

(Ta-ho-poo-poo)



A chautauqua Pageant

(Ta-ho-poo-poo)

1874, when a group of men and women met together on the Chautauqua Lake in New York for self-improvement in their work of religious instruction. The first assembly was mainly instruction and study, although it included song services, religious readings, and round tables. Later there were great many additions and expansions to the program.

The success of the annual gathering on the Lake Chautauqua, from which the movement takes its name, was so great that immediately independent Chautauquas began to spring up all over the country. They became a prominent feature of the nation's life. Then in the early part of this century, a radical expansion took place in the Chautauqua movement. An enterprising American with talent for organization started a chain of independent Chautauquas, and used the same lecturers and artists — who are called in the Chautauqua language "talents" — to repeat their programs in each of the Chautauqua towns. It meant the conservation of resources. This was the beginning of the circuit Chautauqua system serving a string of ninety or a hundred Chautauqua by one booking bureau. The circuit idea was second in importance only to the establishment of the original Chautauqua in 1874. The mother Chautauqua with its home studies and summer assemblies still operates in the shaded groves of the Lake Chautauqua in New York; but there are hundreds and hundreds of Chautauquas scattered over this broad land which are now run under the circuit system.

A Chautauqua audience includes all kinds of people

-- young and old, rich and poor, educated and half-educated. And although their tastes are not all alike, most of them favor music and light entertainment. Chautauqua could not, however, exist with these alone. The patrons of Chautauqua would not support it. They want something more than froth and foam. The people who sustain Chautauqua and attend its program want "food for thought." They welcome discussion over big problems; they demand lectures. Indeed, it is the lectures which make Chautauqua possible.

In looking over my long experience as a Chautauqua lecturer of many seasons, I find that nearly all the Chautauqua lectures come into one of two classes, that is, those which are "inspirational" and those which are "informational." The line is quite sharply defined between these two.

The inspirational talks are the easiest to give. They centre around the ideas of mother, home, and heaven. They are filled with bilge. Baptist pulpitiereers and Methodist bishops, whose chief stock in trade is highly fumigated and sterilized Sunday school platitudes and other such lugubrious *drivel*, are the most conspicuous practitioners of this type of lecture. Happily, they are almost passé. The more rational elements of the Chautauqua crowd are tired of the thin pale weak diet of spiritual "light wines." They want something "that burns on the tongue, that hurts the gullet, that will make them sit up and take notice." In other words, they demand serious, solid, worth-while lectures.

Naturally, the rage at present is for meaty informational address. Travel talks, health talks, popular science lectures, discourses on politics and international problems come under this heading. Statesmen, explorers, aviators, scientists, war correspondents, university professors, and other leaders of thought and action frequently qualify as informational lecturers. They are not only informative, but they make their lectures so entertainingly elucidative that even the mythical man of the street can understand them. These Chautauquans are selected for their place on the program because they are fitted by experience, knowledge, and the ability to grace the rostrum. Next to the dramatic play, an informational address is the big event of the Chautauqua session.

The informative speakers are earnest and serious, of course; but not too serious. "Safety First" seems to be their slogan. In my opinion, they give the Chautauqua too many "safe and sane" lectures; they straddle too often. Here is a recipe of success for Chautauqua spellbinders from a veteran of the platform:

1. Don't start an argument.
2. Don't be a pedagogue.
3. Don't be a bore.
4. Don't be a radical.
5. Don't be a freak.
6. Don't offend the opinions of your audience.
7. If you are going to talk on a controversial subject, always see that someone else is there to talk on the other side of the question.

Some of this advice is ostensibly good; but if every one followed it, human existence would be reduced to the monotonous, tiresome, dull, imbecile life on a dung hill.

Chautauqua is an institution which is beneficial not only to the grown-ups, but to the little folks as well. The Junior Lady, who is always an attractive young maiden, looks after the interests of the boys and girls. She tells them stories, takes them out on long hikes, or teaches them helpful games. She also gathers the youngsters up into a little community of Junior Chautauqua during the week. The boys and girls, who make up the Junior Chautauqua town, have a real self-government. They elect a mayor, a clerk, a treasurer, and other town officials. They have a great deal to do with keeping order during Chautauqua week, and have in many ways more authority than any other group around the Chautauqua ground.

I lectured last summer for one of the largest Chautauqua bureaus which managed 700 Chautauquas between the lakes on the north and the Pacific coast on the west, covering over 70 per cent of the geographical extent of the United States. In our circuit, the following features were starred for the Junior Chautauqua :

1. Junior Citizen Day on which officers of Junior Town were elected and the organization completed.
2. Juniors on parade. The parade - one of the biggest stunts of all Chautauqua week - used to be held in the evening.

3. Red Indian Day and picnic. Different Indian tribes were formed with Wigwams, totem poles, tomahawks, and calumets. This picturesque round-up gave a vivid representation of the vanishing Indian tribes.

4. Competition Day. There was a whole flock of athletic contests including the big track meet for the boys with medals and blue ribbons for the winners.

5. Junior Festival. This was the climax of the week when a play-ground festival with clown stunts, with drills by both boys and girls, and other events gladdened the hearts of the little children.

If human history is "a race between education and catastrophe," the contribution of Chautauqua is large and on the right side. For over half a century the Chautauqua has brought hope, inspiration, and truth to millions of Americans. It has prompted many a youth to go to University. The annual sessions of the people's college will continue to be held in the big brown canvas tabernacles for many years to come. Chautauqua is here to stay. Its future is still before it, and not behind. May the ideal, bequeathed by one of its founders, continue to guide its future as it has its past :

"Self-improvement in all our faculties, for us all, through all time, for the greatest good of all people—this is the Chautauqua idea, a divine idea, a democratic idea, a people's idea, a progressive idea, a millennial idea."

CHEPATER XXVI

MUSEUMS

In the past a museum has been regarded as a sort of storehouse of the curious and the antique. It has seldom been thought of as a living thing. An up-to-date museum in America is no longer content to be the repository for valuable records and for strange and beautiful specimens. An American museum, under an able director, is thoroughly alive. It touches the lives of the people through its traveling exhibits and displays. It makes available and intelligible to the people the results of its researches, and their application to human welfare. In other words, museums are now being taken directly to the public rather than having the museums await in static patience for the public to come to them.

There are in the United States nearly one thousand museums. Most of them are located along the Atlantic seaboard, and in its northern section. Washington, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other eastern cities have famous museums. But in the Middle-West and in the Pacific coast there are also some great museums. The Field Museum of Natural History is known the world over. It is located in Chicago.

ESTABLISHING OF MUSEUMS

In a broad way, museums in America fall into

four classes, as far as outstanding interests are concerned: History, art, science, and industry. The number of history museums exceeds all others by a larger margin. Many of them are conducted by societies. For example, nearly every one of the forty-eight States of the Union has a historical association, which gathers data and accumulates relics relating to all aspects of local history. Larger museums of the country have history divisions of a wider scope.

Art museums come next in order, and the science group now has become practically as strong. Each is represented by a score of important institutions.

Industry is a newcomer in the museum field, and the number of industrial museums is small. But since this machine age has glorified industry, substantial growth of industrial museums is the forecast of all museum experts.

The City of Washington is looked upon by museum officials as being the ultimate natural center of museum activity and influence. The United States National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution of Washington have many valuable collections. No better museum for scientific research is to be found anywhere in the world than the United States National Museum. Its Division of Economic Geology contains more than half a million different exhibits, and is the world's foremost collection of its kind. One may find here any sort of exhibit, from a huge meteorite weighing thousands of pounds to a few grains of sand.

The National Museum contains a collection of exhibits which enables the visitor to read the story of American history and American progress at a glance. Here he may see the relics of George Washington, among them his sword, army coat and his camp kit. In another case one beholds the relics of General Grant of the Civil War fame, still in another those of Abraham Lincoln, and so on all the way down through the whole line of American men of fame. In other rooms he may see the entire story of American railroad transportation, from the earliest engine down to the present day. Here is the first clumsy typewriter ever invented, and there one of the latest models of the combined writing and adding machine. The collections in the National Museum are worth lakhs and lakhs of rupees. It is difficult, however, to estimate the value of museum collections in terms of money as there are many objects which could not possibly be replaced at any price. What money, for example, could buy the sword of George Washington or the airplane in which Colonel Lindbergh made his historic flight across the Atlantic? Reproductions could be made, but they would not be the real things. Such objects are priceless.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

Museums are of two characters : National museums and private museums. National museums are established at public expense and maintained by regular state appropriations, such as the National Museum at Washington. Sometimes private generosity establishes a museum through the gift or bequest of some

notable private collection. These private museums are, as a rule, endowed to provide for their continued proper housing and maintenance. There are, however, cases where the founder of a private museum leaves the public to care for and develop it. The great Smithsonian Institution at Washington, founded for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," was established by the private bequest of Mr. James Smithson. And although the original half a million dollars endowment still produces an income, its development and expansion into a national institution has required regular appropriations from the United States Congress. Smithson builded better than he knew.

The educational activities of nearly all the leading museums in this country may be grouped under two main headings: extra-mural and intra-mural activities. The intra-mural activities include lecture courses at the museum, exhibition hall instruction and guidance for visiting groups, special courses for teachers, evening classes for adults.

The instruction given through the lectures in a museum is mass instruction, in which many school students are present. In order to give more intensive instruction than is possible in such a public lecture, some of the museums have recently developed a series of exhibition hall talks. Under this plan a single class of pupils is taken into one of the smaller rooms personally to examine and handle material under the guidance of a museum instructor. After about half an hour in this room, the group is taken into the

exhibition halls to examine the larger collections pertaining to the particular subject of the talk.

The American Museum of Natural History, New York City, has developed a specialized branch for the instruction of the blind. It may be noted in parenthesis that the blind children in New York City are taught in the same public schools as normal children. They are grouped in sight conversation classes in charge of trained teachers. The American Museum makes special provision for these children. The museum staff gives for the sightless children informal talks which can be illustrated with actual specimens or with apparatus. As the blind are able to "see" the objects in the world around them only through their sense of touch, the children so handicapped have the opportunity at the American Museum, under sympathetic instruction, to handle and learn all about animals, birds, flowers, and minerals. Even the blind need not be ignorant. Much of this instruction, it is to be admitted, is psychic, invisible as is the mind itself. But the instruction will, through the future career of pupils, bear copious fruit.

Another interesting feature of the intra-mural educational program of the American Museum of Natural History is the Junior Astronomy Club for boys and girls in organized cooperation with the Museum's department of astronomy. Meetings are held weekly and programs are given alternately by club members and by guest lecturers. Recently a member of the editorial staff of the *Scientific American* gave a popular lecture on astronomy and demonstrated

to the youthful members of the Club how to construct a telescope. The Junior Astronomy Club is conducted by its own members, and it does much to stimulate the children's initiative and develop their imagination.

A museum is a wonderland for the child, and a mere admission to it opens opportunity for adventuring among exhibits which cannot help adding to his store of information. Visual education in a treasure house of knowledge is here sweetened with a flavor of entertainment. Realizing that the impressions obtained in childhood are the most vivid and lasting and that the growing mind should be frequently exposed to stimulating influences, free admission is granted to all museums in America to children and their teachers on every day of the week. Students and professors of colleges and universities are also accorded the same privilege.

Important as are the intra-mural activities of a museum, to me the service it renders to teachers and students outside its walls is even of greater value. In order to make the museum a vital part of the educational system, museum authorities have sought and put into practice more direct methods of reaching the children in schools. They have found it advantageous for the museums to reach out into the schools themselves, by sending portable exhibits on natural history, economics, science, art, and other subjects right into the classrooms. The museum thus becomes an influence in the lives of thousands to whom it might otherwise remain a stranger.

TRAVELING EXHIBITS

The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago

has a method of cooperating with schools, which may be regarded as typical of other leading museums in the United States. The Field Museum has a thousand cases of exhibition materials, and these are lent regularly to about four hundred schools. At the beginning of the school year, two cases apiece are delivered to all the schools of the city. At the end of two weeks these cases are collected and delivered to other schools, while others are left in their place. A carefully prepared schedule alternating the types of subjects sent to each school governs this procedure throughout the school year. By this means a school which has a botany and a food case one week, for example, may have a zoology and a textile case the following week, and a geology and a paper industry case after that. Thus constant variety is maintained, and a wide range of subjects is covered. Once a particular case has gone to a school it will be several years before the same case is scheduled for the same school, and so during a student's entire school life he will be reached by cases always new to him, never duplicating those he has seen before. It is plain that one striking advantage of this system, as it has worked out, is that it enables the museum to maintain a close-knit relationship with the schools and their students.

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Not only are the cases sent to public schools, but also to private schools, schools for cripples, reformatories, orphan asylums, Y. M. C. A. centers, public libraries and their various branches. Moreover, cases have been sent from Chicago on request to different institutions in many parts of the United States and

Canada, and plans and information on the subject have been sent to far-away Japan and England. American ideas of museum management are getting momentum throughout the world.

It will be apparent then that school students are not the only ones benefitting from this system of object teaching. Their parents, relatives and neighbors also have opportunities for examining the cases. Many adults get their first impulse to visit a museum from seeing these cases.

In addition to sending exhibits, the Field Museum lends lantern slides and motion pictures to classrooms for the entertainment and instruction of students. They visualize the rare objects of nature, the facts of history, and the achievements of man. They make a school lesson fascinatingly real that otherwise might have been remote, dry, and lifeless.

The growing interest in this country in out-door life has spurred the Milwaukee public Museum to conduct field excursions. This museum is located in the city of Milwaukee, on the shores of the Lake Michigan. Persons going on the field trips have an opportunity to become acquainted with the local flora and fauna, and acquire better appreciation of out-door beauty and open-air life.

Needless to say that the extension work of the American museum, in all their departments, is offered to the public absolutely free. The museum service, including the lectures, is free because it is meant for the good of all the public.

It is the fashion of the trans-Atlantic visitors to

accuse America of being the exclusive worshipper of Mammon. During the early period of their history, Americans might have worshipped money monotheistically. The Dollar was then the Lord their God. It was the heyday of materialism, the Elizabethan era of the golden calf. But things have changed of late. Since the first quarter of this century, it is noticeable that they are recognizing the existence of other gods and other goods. Indeed, they are making very intelligent use of some of their gold. That Americans should be willing to make generous expenditures for the dissemination of popular instruction is a high tribute to their intellectual vitality and mental alertness, their enthusiasm for knowledge and its humanization.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF MUSEUMS

A good deal of the strength of the museum movement in the United States is due to the efforts of the American Association of Museums. It is an organization with headquarters at the National Museum at Washington. It was started twenty-five years ago for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of all museums in the country and giving well planned direction to the activities of these institutions. The museums, scattered from one end of the country to the other, form the membership of the Association and co-operate with each other by publishing journals and holding annual regional conferences.

Relations of the Association are extended beyond the United States. A constant correspondence is carried on between the American Association of museums and

museums in Europe and South America. Recently relations have reached to Japanese museums. This correspondence keeps museum officials in constant touch with developments in their field. Finds in any part of the world are quickly reported to all interested museums.

Two innovations in museum management have particularly marked the last few years of the activities of the American Association of Museums. They relate to the extension of museum work to the out-of-doors, and to the establishment of traveling exhibits.

In co-operation with the National Parks, the out-door museum work of the Association has concerned itself especially with increasing the direct educational value of American National Parks. In certain of these Parks there have been erected small buildings which have been given the name of Trailside Museums. The idea has been to bring together exhibits which will be readily available to the visitors to the Parks, along their routes of sight-seeing, tramping, and camping. Each such museum is equipped to emphasize the beauties, the wild life, and other attractions of the particular place. Among the notable Trailside Museums already established are those at Bear Mountain in the Palisades Interstate Park, at Yosemite National Park, at the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and at Yellowstone.

The authorities of the American Association of Museums have even gone so far as to prepare lantern slides of an educational nature to be shown to groups of campers at their camp fires. In this manner the full instructional value of the material is made so readily

available to the tourist that he can scarcely avoid being fully informed of everything of interest in connection with the place he is visiting.

The traveling exhibits are based on the theory that often it is important to move certain unique collections about the country in order to reach persons who might never visit the home town where the owning museum was established. With attendant publicity in parks, towns and cities visited for periods of a few weeks, the number of persons ultimately to be reached and to obtain the value of inspection is multiplied enormously.

COURSES FOR MUSEUM WORKERS

The work of preparing specimens for use in museums has become so technical that it has given rise to the profession of taxidermy. I learn from my conversations with the curators of museums that in years gone by the typical museum in this country has built up of collections of birds and mammals stuffed with cotton, and displayed row upon row with their meagre scientific data. Cases were poorly designed and the specimens were subjected to the deteriorating influences of insect pests and dust.

The modern American museum presents an entirely different appearance. Birds and mammals are mounted in characteristic attitudes over carefully modelled forms and displayed in the midst of their natural surroundings. A painted landscape trams the background and is skilfully blended with a foreground composed of the actual earth and reproductions of the rocks and vegetation which make up the environment of the species exhibited. To insure against deterioration such

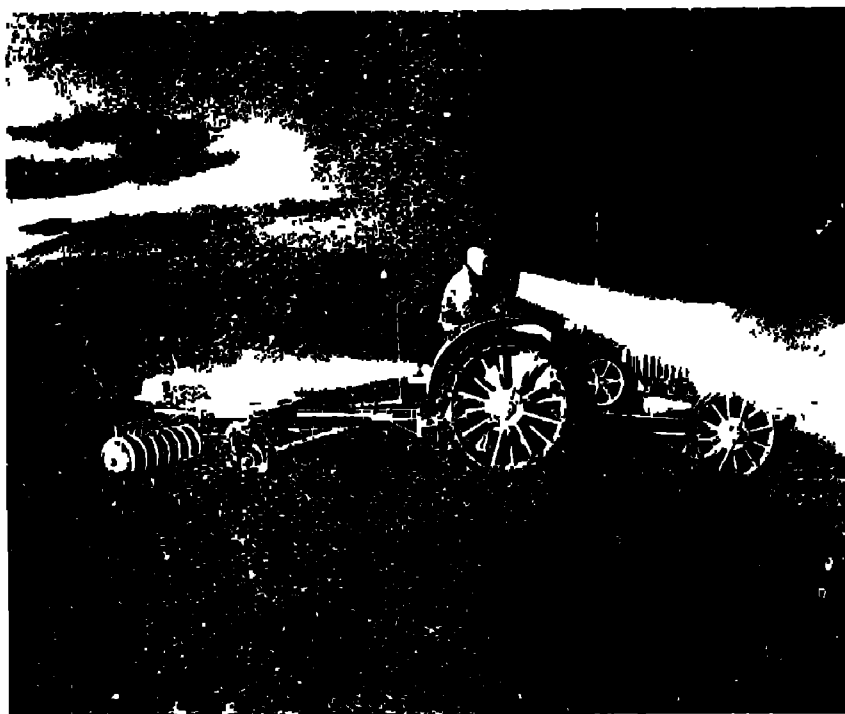
habitat groups are installed in dust-tight, insect-proof cases. The effect of realism is heightened by the use of scientific lighting. The whole group is designed to present a lesson in natural history which will give an accurate impression of actual conditions.

It will be perceived that the museum director must be not only a first class taxidermist, but must have a knowledge of composition, painting, modeling, and of the preparation of accessories if he is to be efficient.

Courses in museum methods are now offered at a good many American universities; but the State University of Iowa has been the first institution of higher learning in this country to give regular courses in museum work. More than twenty-five years ago, this University organized such courses. The student becomes acquainted with the most modern methods of mounting museum specimens, and as he becomes proficient, he is allowed to assist in the construction of habitat groups, and in arranging the collections intended for general museum. In addition, he secures a thorough training in modeling, in color work, and in the making of group accessories. Laboratories are equipped for teaching and research in museum work, and an extensive zoological museum is at hand for study and comparison. With the broadening of the activities of American museums, it is natural that museum work should become a regular vocation.

At times it seems to me that the whole American nation is a vast classroom of millions of souls eager to learn. This is one of the miracles of modern civilization. I frankly envy Americans of the educational

opportunities with which they are endowed. One of the main problems of our time in India is that of the education of the masses. They are not fools and morons, as some of the foreigners have seen fit to call them. They are far from being as hopeless as all that. On the contrary, they are struggling bravely under severe handicaps. They can be educated out of these handicaps to be real men and women. But what has been and being done for them ? Suppose we make our museums the agencies of popular education. Suppose we take some of the important, but practically unused and neglected, Indian museums and animate them with the passionate spirit of American mass education. Will not that create new centers of light and hope on earth ? Will not that bring the kingdom of Mind nearer to our daily life ?



' Plowing at night with a tractor '

(by courtesy of the International Harvester Company)

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CHAPTER XXVII

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

The American farmer, like that of his brother in India, is the most indispensable single factor in the life of the nation. Agriculture comprises about one-third of the population of the United States. The other two-thirds are made up of labor and industry. The latter may be considered to include finance, while both include commerce. Thus, broadly speaking, there are three divisions in American society : labor, industry, and agriculture.

No politician, who thinks seriously of his political career, has ever been known to speak slightly of the American husbandman. He is the constant theme of glory and halleluiah. "The farmer is praised by all," says a conspicuous American publicist, "who mention him at all, from archbishops to zoologists, day in day out. He is praised for his industry, his frugality, his patriotism, his altruistic passion. He is praised for staying on the farm, for laboriously wringing our bread and meat from the reluctant soil, for renouncing Babylon to guard the horned cattle on the hills. He is praised for his patient fidelity to the oldest of professions, and the most honorable, and the most necessary to all of us. He takes on, in political speeches and newspaper

editorials, a sort of mystical character ”.

I have traveled widely in the farming belt of America. I have seen the American farmer at his toil, heavy with sweat and weary with labor. I have enjoyed his kindly hospitality a thousand times. He compares, in worldly prosperity, with our Indian farmer as a Nawab to a tramp. And yet the American farmer today is not as well off as he was a few years ago.

CONDITIONS OF AGRICULTURE

The conditions surrounding American agriculture since the Great War have been distressing, and their effects are bound to be felt in world market. The two major ailments of the American farmer are overcapitalized land and an inferior standard of living. The late Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Henry C. Wallace, estimated that “the market value of farm land in the Middle West (of the United States) was 42 to 56% higher in 1920 than if the net cash rent of the boom year 1919 had been capitalized at the current rate of interest on first mortgages. Today the farmer has been unreasonably deflated. He gets less for an equivalent expenditure of labor, skill, and intelligence than any other considerable group in the country.”

Before the Great War, landed real estate was an asset and farm property was considered to be the very best of security. Since the war, however, such property has been and is a liability. Thousands upon thousands of farmers have lost their farms in whole or in part, and a majority of the balance were obliged to increase their indebtedness in order to keep on doing

business. The consequence is that farmers have been forced to reduce their standard of living and increase the amount of work done by themselves and their families. They have matched their deflated dollar against the inflated dollar of labor and industry. And at this writing, it seems that the American peasant is wading in deep water.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING

What is to be the remedy? Co-operative marketing has been proposed as a cure for many of the ills of American agriculture. Instead of each fighting for his lone land, the farmer should first learn to co-operate, and then practise co-operative marketing.

It will be interesting to know in India that one of the best examples of success in co-operative marketing in America is the Twin City Milk Producers' Association of Minnesota. The venture started under serious handicaps; but it has gone forward from the humble beginning, and is now considered one of the most thriving and most successful co-operative associations in the world.

The principle underlying the success of the Twin City Association is not simply marketing, but to limit the supply of its product — milk — to the actual demand of the market. After the daily demand of the city, where the association is located, is satisfied no more milk is shipped. The Association does not permit the market to have more milk at any particular day than the market is really able to consume. The balance of the Association's milk as it comes from the dairy cow is converted into other products such as

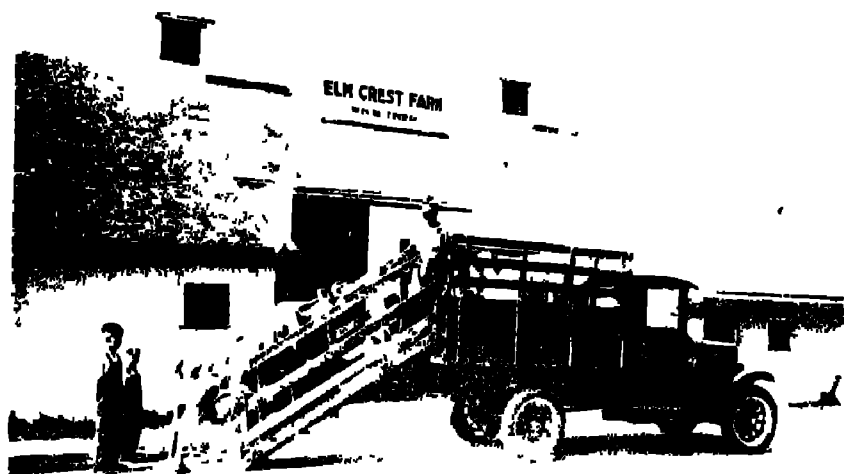
cheese, butter, condensed milk, dried buttermilk. Thus by applying the principle of limited production of its primary product, the Association is enabled to fix and enforce the price on a profitable basis. By this means the farmers sell a small part of their milk as secondary products in open competition with the world. The price they get on their major product, which is fixed, makes their profit. It is to be noticed, however, that the Association has become so strong and powerful that it has secured the exclusive market of the city, and does not have other products of the same kind coming into competition.

Another of the most typical forms of co-operation among farmers of the United States is the co-operative Livestock Shipping Association. It has demonstrated most conclusively that it is the most economical way to market cattle. In addition to this and to supplement it, there was organized in recent years the Producers Co-operative Livestock Commission Associations. They have demonstrated their value and usefulness.

In this list of co-operative efforts, mention should also be made of the Federated Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association. It has done wonders in helping the farmers to market their products, and realize more net profit than they would have secured otherwise.

CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMICS

The principles of co-operative economics are no longer experimental, no longer a vision or a dream. Millions and millions of advanced people of the world are now transacting their business upon these principles, and the United States has now begun to develop



A Modern Farm
(by Courtesy of the International Harvester Company).

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the idea in its nation-wide importance.

There are, however, skeptical students of the subject of co-operative marketing who regard it, more or less, as palliative. Co-operation is a very slow movement; it will not promptly bridge the gulf between the consumer and producer, which constitutes the heart of the problem. If the farmer is pertinacious and long suffering, he may in the end win. American farmer, however, is not made that way. He wants quick results, and wants them right now. Moreover, these co-operative associations, the cities point out, save cents for the farmers when they need dollars. The co-operative agencies, in many cases, fail to reach out production. And unless the production is controlled, there will not be much profit.

Co-operative marketing, according to these s'irew'd prophets of American agriculture, is only a preliminary step toward stabilizing the farmers. If they wish to succeed they must go one or two steps farther. First, they must include co-operative and controlled production, and second, they must as a class and a unit body take their proper place in the various political and economic phases of society. The solution of the problem is bigger and broader than just marketing. Peasants must go far beyond. They must realize that theirs is a nation-wide economic problem which must be solved by the people as a whole, and they themselves should wield their share of influence.

Agriculture is a very important factor in our national life in India. It is and ought to be one of the liveliest issues of our time; but as yet very little heed

is paid to it. The Indian labor is being slowly organized, why not the Indian agriculture? The present agricultural situation is admittedly grave. The main cause of our farmer's distress, like that of the American farmer, is his economic handicap. Instead of leaving the disorganized, helpless farmers to their fate, we should go to their rescue and help them organize. We should bring realistic statesmanship to the consideration of agricultural production and distribution, which goes at the very root of our national existence.

CHAPTER XXVIII

TREE PLANTING

The forest of the future must be started today. Our children are dependent on our course. There must be a change in our national attitude. Our industries, our landowners, our farmers, all our citizens must learn to treat our forests as crops, to be used but also to be renewed. We must learn to tend our woodlands as carefully as we tend our farms. — President Coolidge.

The President of the United States of America sets aside a week every year as American Forest Week. The idea of this observance of a national American Forest Week is to educate the public in forest problems and stimulate national sentiment for proper forest policy. Grow trees ! Help save the trees ! That, in fine, is the slogan for American Forest Week.

In order to concentrate public attention during the Forest Week on the nation's timberland problems, thousands of pamphlets on forestry are disseminated. It is the plan of those actively interested in the movement to have every club meeting held during the American Forest Week use forestry as its theme. For seven days, through newspapers, cinemas in schools, churches, theatres, through illustrated lectures and over the radio, they hammer away at the subject of

trees, how to save them, plant them, and how to restock the vanishing wood.

Each year since 1920 the President of the United States has set apart by proclamation a special week for public consideration of American forest needs. What is the reason? America is the greatest consumer of lumber in the world. It uses more than two-fifths of all the wood consumed in the world. It consumes each year about 200 cubic feet of wood for each man, woman, and child; but its consumption is four times the rate of replacement through growth. (Originally about half the land area of the United States was covered with forests. The supply was considered almost inexhaustible; but in less than a hundred years, seventy per cent of the virgin timberland was cut over. At the present rate, if Americans grow wood no faster than they do now, a hundred years hence they will have to get along on one-fourth as much per person as they now use. That is a possibility which the Americans wish to avoid through the observance of the Forest Week.

The most beautiful tribute to a tree that I have ever heard was given by Joyce Kilmer who wrote: "I think that I shall never see a poem lovely as a tree." It is in America the most frequently quoted poem on trees. To be sure the trees have their aesthetic value, but they are also of great utility to men. Americans have built enormous industries upon their forest resources. Lumber is of course used in making houses. It is also used in large quantities in making automobile, piano, furniture, implement, railway sleep-

ers, handle works, posts, fuel, and paper. One of the greatest uses to which the timber is put today is the production of pulp for artificial silk. Indeed, abundance of timber is regarded as one of the main things which made America the most prosperous of all countries.

FOLLIES OF DEFORESTATION

In recent years flood has constituted an impressive argument for forest conservation. The forest is a natural reservoir. The relation of deforestation to floods can be simply explained. Trees are nature's method of combating the flood evil. Water falling upon a forested area is held back by the trees, their roots, and their leaves. With the roots, the fallen leaves act as giant sponges which absorb water and also moisture. They eliminate rapid run-off of water and also rapid evaporation. The water gradually seeps away into under-ground channels or to the little creeks and rivulets. The run-off is slow and steady. Streams in these areas are usually constant in the amount of water carried. A sudden rain-storm or rainy period has little effect upon the volume of water in the stream. Trees are therefore the salvation.

Remove forest and a natural reservoir is removed which helps to regulate the flow of water. In a deforested region, rain falls and rushes madly down the hillsides to the streams below, making deep gullies in the land. The water carries with it immense amounts of sediment. The streams fill up, flood the rivers, and if the wet weather is prolonged, a great flood is at hand.

Trees can easily be grown, but they can also be easily damaged. "To grow timber successfully requires careful logging," says a bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture, "the sparing of young trees, the leaving of seed trees, freedom from fire, and intelligent handling of the crop from start to finish as the varying qualities and needs of different kinds of trees call for. Forest destruction may or may not follow the neglect of any or all of these measures, but forest impairment is inevitable without their use."

The immediate danger in America is not that its forests will generally disappear. It is that its forests will so deteriorate as to be practically worthless, or at least of low value. Forest wrecking is what Americans are afraid of.

NATIONAL PLAN OF REFORESTATION

Private reforestation, though encouraging, is making too slow headway. The government must help work out a nationwide forest protection scheme. The Clarke-McNary forestry law, passed by Congress in 1924, provides for a national plan of timber growing on a large scale. The Federal government, the State governments, and the private owners of forest lands are all integrated in this scheme.

The Clarke-McNary forestry law authorized a liberal program of land purchase by the Federal government for timber growing. Still more important are the provisions of the law looking for cooperation between the Federal government and the State government in encouraging private owners to plant trees.

Federal grants were authorized for this purpose up to eight million rupees annually — about seven millions for forest fires and for studies of forest taxation and timber insurance, and the rest for the distribution of forest planting stock to farmers and for farm — forestry extension.

A national forestry program must necessarily include the growing of timber on the farm. The farmers are the largest users of lumber and other forest products in the United States, consuming more than one-third of the total produced. If timber is not available at low prices, they are the first to suffer. The purpose of the tree-distribution provision of the Clarke-McNary act is to enable the farmer to get the kind and quality of trees he needs at cost price. Further, the law has made it possible for thousands of farmers to be helped toward better forest practices through instruction and demonstration on forest fire protection, timber cutting, preservative treatment of farm timbers, measuring and marketing timber on the farm, and forest tree planting. Has India a law corresponding to the Clarke-McNary forestry law? Indians ought to wake up to what's going on in America.

INDIAN FORESTS

The Indian Forest Department was created over fifty years ago by the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, the grand-father of the present Viceroy. What has it accomplished to justify its existence? It has undoubtedly done some good, notably in the Punjab and the United Provinces. It

has, however, never had an aggressive program to bring forestry knowledge within the reach of the common people. The forests of India are still exposed to neglect, and in most provinces the accessible forests have been, and are being, shamelessly exploited with the result that timber is becoming scarce, and prices are high.

The Indian forest situation is manifestly out of joint. Timber is cut off in one region after another without seeing to it that another wood crop is grown after the virgin crop was taken off. What will India do when its present forests disappear? The more industrialized the country becomes, the more it will have to depend for the bulk of its lumber supplies in foreign countries. Timber growing on a large scale is an economic necessity.

There are some people in India, otherwise sensible and kind-hearted, who coap down trees ruthlessly. That is an outrage. They are a sort of maniacs. It makes my heart ache when I see wanton felling of trees. In France it is necessary to obtain government permission to cut down one's own trees. This is due to the important part played by scientific forestry in the national life and to a desire to prevent destruction of national wealth on even the smallest scale. Unless the tree is quite dead, it is probable that the owner's request will be refused. How about a law in India compelling a person who cuts down a tree to plant another?

We in India are piling up large areas of worthless land. This should stop. Our stores of virgin timber

are vanishing. We cannot allow further destruction of our forests. The denuded area should be restocked. We must grow trees — and not just let them grow — on our forest land. A comprehensive program should have been adopted years ago; but there is still time to save the country from a lumber famine.

BE FOREST-MINDED

Profitable farm land should not, of course, be planted in trees. There are, however, thousands and thousands of virtual wasteland which could be put to work growing tree crops. Farms suffering soil erosion are outstanding examples of neglected forest opportunities. Convert waste farm land into profitable woodlots; plant trees on land which is too rough or barren for farming.

The forest is the background of India. The Indian people have one of their greatest heritages in the forest. Of course it all comes down to one question, money. Bureaucrats will hardly push the forestry development through. They will spend the money on something else. The long and short of it is that before any effective work on forest areas can be expected, the control of public funds should be taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats and vested in the legislature. The Forest Department should at least be transferred to the ministerial portion of the government.

Bureaucrats, mostly migratory birds, may come and go; but we have a duty which we owe to our country. *Let us grow trees and trees and more trees.*

CHAPTER XXIX

UNCLE SAM'S OTHER ISLAND

A few days ago when Colonel Lindbergh, the world-famous American flyer from New York to Paris, was in Porto Rico, he was entrusted by the Porto Rican legislature to bring home to the American people a plea for Porto Rican freedom. The two most striking paragraphs in this message from the American island possession read as follows :

"The good wishes of Porto Rico will go with you to the land of the brave and the free, and to your country and to your people and will convey a message of Porto Rico not far different from the cry of Patrick Henry-'liberty or death'. It is the same in substance with but a difference imposed by the change of times and conditions.

"The message of Porto Rico to your people is, grant us the freedom that you enjoy for which you struggled, which you worship, which you deserve and which you promised us. We ask the right to a place in the sun of this land of ours brightened by the stars of your glorious flag."

This cry for "liberty or death" raises in the mind of an observer a number of questions : Why aren't the Porto Ricans content to remain under the control of Uncle Sam ? Hasn't America planted the fundamental ideas of liberty, equality, and prosperity hitherto unknown in Porto Rico ? Hasn't America

introduced self-government, a gallant adventure in democracy? Haven't Americans transformed more than a million Porto Rican subjects into citizens?

For an answer to some of these questions I sought an interview with the Governor of Porto Rico, Honorable Horace M. Towner. I knew him years ago when he was a member of the United States Congress. He tried to mitigate some of the harsh features of the Indian exclusion act.

Governor Towner is justly proud of the political and economic progress that Porto Rico has made under his administration for the last five years. He points to the fact that the Island exports, 90 per cent of which the United States, have increased annually from eighty-two million dollars in 1923 to one hundred and eight million dollars in 1927.

In finances, too, a similar progress is noticeable. The floating debt of Porto Rico amounted to only three million dollars in 1927, representing a reduction of nine hundred thousand dollars as compared with a year ago.

Hundreds of miles of new roads, and scores of new bridges were added during the last fiscal year. What is still more significant is that one-third of the income of the Island was expended for public education and progress made is "highly creditable", Governor Towner observed. He has full sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the natives; but he does not want to "pull the millenium before it is ripe". He wants to train them by education.

Why then should Porto Rico, whose inhabitants had known only how to bend their necks to the Spanish yoke, wish to give up the advantages of a liberal government under the United States regime? A conversation with Mr. Towner, who had recently been in the United States in connection with some insular affairs, would convince one that Porto Ricans are grateful to the United States for all it has done for them. Still, they wish to be free to control their own destiny in their own way. This attitude of the Porto Ricans, Mr. Towner intimated, is the revelation of how peoples, whatever the color of their skins, whatever their race or religion, tenaciously cling to the ideal of independence. The longing for independence certainly exists in both of Uncle Sam's important island possessions: Philippines and Porto Rico. Perhaps this desire for freedom is inherent in human nature.

"At all times the Porto Ricans have been a peaceful people in ideals and desires", declared Towner. "Not once during the Spanish rule did they attempt revolt, and since the United States has been in control, they have never thought of revolt.

"For this reason the people have easily and readily adopted the American form of government to suit their needs.

"Porto Rico, at the time of the Spanish-American war, saw the advantage of being under the control of the United States instead of that of Spain. When the American soldiers entered the Island, a friendly attitude was shown them by the Porto Ricans and instead



PUERTO RICO

Palm, Stream, and mountains
Typical of Island Scenery.

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of resisting the Americans they strewed flowers in their way ”.

Mr. Towner's talk betokened understanding sympathy. He had a thorough preparation for his duties in Porto Rico, while he was serving as the Chairman of the Congressional Committee of Insular Affairs. He is energetic (he was born, mind you, in 1855), hard-working, courageous, and a capable administrator.

Porto Rico lies in the warm waters of the Caribbean sea. This Island is slightly larger than Sikkim State. Porto Rico, however, has a population of about 1,300,000 — 65 per cent being white, the remainder, negroes and mulattoes. Porto Rico, is overcrowded with a population approaching 400 to the square mile; but there has never been any famine since the country came into American possession. Indeed, the death has been reduced by wise sanitation from 40 to 19 per thousand, and wages have been increased.

Porto Rico is mainly an agricultural country. Its chief products are sugar, tobacco, coffee, oranges, grape fruit, pineapples, and other tropical fruits. It is the country where “sugar cane is king”. Of all its exports, sugar products comprise more than half. Tobacco is the second important crop.

There are a few manufactures which are connected with cigars, cigarettes, embroidery, and straw hats. The industries of the people are, however, principally allied with agriculture. Indeed two - thirds of the people are engaged in agriculture, and the agricultural experiment station at Mayaguez has reduced the rava-

ges of plant diseases and is adding constantly to the list of crops which can be raised in that moist hot climate.

There is free trade between the United States and Porto Rico; but the regular United States protective tariff laws are applied in Porto Rico as against the rest of the world. America does not exact any direct tribute from the Island. All customs duties and internal taxes go into the treasury of Porto Rico.

I have met colonial rulers of French, Japanese, and English colonial possessions in different parts of Asia. My impression of a colonial governor is that of a cocky, shovel-batted, sternvisaged man. What I saw in the Governor of Porto Rico was a slim, kindly man, in a dark, double-breasted plain coat. He is quiet and simple in manner. He may seem a bit reserved and aloof; but he is neither haughty nor pompous, the unmistakable earmarks of European colonial satraps. I can well understand how this American won the hearts of the Porto Ricans the very first time he landed in their capital city (San Juan) with his Spanish greeting: "Viva Puerto Rico".

Porto Ricans have been American citizens since 1917, when Congress passed the Jones act granting all Porto Ricans the rights and privileges of citizenship. The act also provided that those Porto Ricans who did not wish to accept American citizenship should remain citizens of Porto Rico. There were less than 300 rejections of this new citizenship. More than a million and a quarter of the Porto Ricans eagerly accepted the American citizenship.

The United States has tried to make the people of Porto Rico self-governing as rapidly as the United States thought it possible. Formerly the Porto Ricans had little or no participation in the government of their country. The Spanish Governor General was usually a Field Marshal. Sometimes he was an Archbishop. With the change of sovereignty from Spain to the United States in 1898, Porto Rico found a larger degree of self-government than it ever had before.

Porto Rico has today a legislature which is entirely elective. The Porto Rican legislature consists of two elective chambers; the Senate, composed of 19 members, and the House of Representatives, composed of 39 members. The Porto Ricans make their own island laws, expend their own revenue, and in almost every way conduct their government to suit themselves.

Porto Rico has practically manhood suffrage, there being no property or educational tests. It is interesting to note in this connection that voting is compulsory in the Island. A person not exercising his right to vote may be fined, or dis-franchised.

The Governor of Porto Rico, who is appointed by the President of the United States, has veto power, and he occasionally uses it. The Porto Rican legislature can, however, pass a bill over the Governor's veto. It can also make final appeal to the President of the United States.

A Commissioner from Porto Rico, elected by popular vote, sits in the Lower House of Congress at Washington. He has, however, no vote in that body.

Again, each municipality in Porto Rico elects its own officials to look after its own affairs. Indeed, local government is entirely in the hands of the people of the Island.

Porto Rico has its own system of courts. The judiciary of the Island, like its executive and legislative, is efficient. The judges of the higher tribunals are appointed by the President of the United States, and those of the lower courts by the Governor of the Island with the consent of the Porto Rican Senate.

"The Court records of the Island are remarkable," Governor Towner told me. "They show little time wasted, and proportionally few appeals to higher courts. This may be due to a higher type of judicial officers who receive their offices through appointment rather than by election. During the time that Porto Rico has been under the control of the United States, they have used well the privileges granted them and have made good."

Thus it will be seen that Porto Ricans have been essentially self-governing, at least for the last ten years.

It is often said that the only way to master the art of self-government is to practice self-governing. That the United States has hastened the process of self-governing is further attested by the fact that "today out of 8,905 in government employ in both classified and unclassified service, 8,632 are native-born. The non-natives include the Governor and a few other administrative officials, technical employees, teachers of English in the public schools and professors and instructors in the University of Porto Rico."



One of the Island's most beautiful Plazas
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Types of Pavilions constructed
 at the Antituberculosis Sanatorium in Porto Rico
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A hard-shelled element in the European colonial system is the general belief that subject peoples are inferior and incapable of self-directed advancement. The whole race of Curzons and Cromers with their itch for power has made that the basis of their political creed. Now the American pro-consul in Porto Rico does not take stock in such a dogma. No superiority complex burdens Towner. He is not of the old school of imperialist bureaucrats. He is at all times courteous, as a Porto Rican put it to me. The spirit of his statesmanship is democratic rather than imperialistic and bureaucratic. Perhaps it is in such a helpful attitude lies the solution of some of the vexing colonial problems of our time.

When Porto Rico was under Spanish rule, there were only parochial church schools. There was not a single public school in the Island. Since the American occupation, a school system was established and education made compulsory.

While education is fundamental, it is often neglected by European colonial governments. The United States has probably made more progress in this direction than any other colonial power in the world.

Towner is a warm friend of education, being a former Lecturer in the State University of Iowa. In Porto Rico the number of pupils in schools has increased from 18 thousand in 1900 to 219 thousand in 1927. One of the tasks of Uncle Sam has been to weld the new with the old. Spanish language, which is the exponent of the Porto Rican history and civilization, has not therefore been eliminated from the schools of

Porto Rico. And Porto Ricans, as I said before, are allowed to devote one-third of their national budget to education. Despite all this, about 45 per cent of the inhabitants of Porto Rico are illiterate. But Senator Barcelo, President of the Porto Ricans Senate, pointed out not long ago that even at that the condition of Porto Rico is not hopeless. He stressed the fact that when America won its independence from England, 80 per cent of the colonial Americans were illiterate. Senor Barcelo further rounded out his argument by saying that the illiteracy of this native country is today actually less than that of Spain, Argentine, Brazil, Chile, and several of the southern States of this Federal Republic. Hence much of the routine ballyhoo about Porto Rican illiteracy is superfluous.

The yeast of new nationalistic ideas is at work in the Island, as it is everywhere else in the world. Men in all parts of the globe are stirred to their sense of nationality. And with this awakening has come the spirit of liberty in the hearts of the people. It is a great movement of destiny. The extreme wing of the Porto Rican nationalists, who represent a minority, do not like to see their country remain a mere "subjected colony". They demand complete independence. The nationalists constantly carry on independence propaganda. No effort, however, is made by Governor Towner to interfere with this propaganda. Listen to these words from a leader of the Nationalist party of Porto Rico: "We have gained nothing with American citizenship. We continue to be the exploited



Typical Rural School

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colony, a sugar factory of American bankers, with all of the duties but none of the rights inherent to the citizens of a free republic ”.

The large majority of the Porto Rican people are, however, asking for a greater degree of autonomy, including the election of the Governor by themselves. They even interpret the message handed to Landbergh as merely a demand for more local self – government.

The political status of Porto Rico is at present in doubt. It is neither a Territory nor a State. Shortly after his appointment as Governor, Mr. Towner himself headed a delegation to Washington asking for an elective Governor for Porto Rico — an unheard-of thing for a colonial ruler to do. Since then the request has frequently been repeated. According to Mr. Towner, an elective Governor is the next logical step for the Porto Ricans to take in their advance toward statehood.

Some years ago the late “Uncle” Joe Cannon, a Speaker of the Lower House of Congress, remarked that to admit Porto Rico to the American Union as a State would be like wiping a pig’s tail with a silk handkerchief. Porto Rico has better prospects now. The Towner administration seems to have prepared the way for something more than a vague colonial status. And so greatly are the efforts of Mr. Towner appreciated that one of the leading papers of San Juan, *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, recently declared that if Porto Ricans are permitted to elect their Governor, Horace M. Towner would be their first choice.

CHAPTER XXX

THE PHILIPPINES FOR THE FILIPINOS

That "the white man's burden" is an illusion, but the brown man's burden is a reality was brought home to the American people recently by United States Senator, Hiram W. Bingham. While in the Philippines, Senator Bingham was invited to the most exclusive American club in Manila, the Army and Navy Club; but he declined to accept the invitation. The reason given for his refusal was "that no Filipinos were permitted to enter the sacred portals" of that exclusive institution.

Mr. Bingham told his countrymen that the attitude of social discrimination which the insolent whites adopt toward the Filipinos and other Asians is ranging the whole seething Orient against the arrogant Occident. White snobbery is digging the grave of "white supremacy" in the East. There can be no true friendship or cooperation between the whites and the browns so long as the so-called superior white races practice social ostracism toward the yellows and browns.

RULE OF SNOBOCRACY

"In want to tell you right now," exclaimed Mr. Bingham, "that if white people of Manila were to invite a few of the cultured and prominent Filipinos to be their guests at a tea, the agitation for Philippine

independence would die right then and there ! ”

The dream of universal brotherhood of man may or may not come true; but it is too naive to expect that twelve million Filipinos will give up their demand for independence and choose to remain a subject people for a cup of pink tea.

What will be the future of the Philippines ? Will they be set up in self-government or will they be permanently retained to increase the American national power and prestige ?

The Jones law of 1916 gave the Filipinos a native legislature and stated very definitely that America would eventually grant them complete independence. The Filipinos say that they are ready for self-rule and should have it at the present moment.

American imperialists and their allied jingoes maintain that the Filipinos are too weak to take care of themselves; they must remain under the protection of Uncle Sam. Filipinos themselves do not share this view. They counter by asking this question : Does the United States maintain a standing army in every weak country to protect it from invasion ? It certainly does not. Why then should America be so worried about the alleged weakness of the Philippines ?

A BALD ASSUMPTION

Those who are opposed to the Philippine Independence take the ground that the archipelago became the property of the United States government by right of purchase and treaty. The Philippines and Filipino people can not therefore be legally deprived of the

American protection and guardianship. America must remain in the Islands.

This is a false assumption. Americans did not buy the Filipinos. America went to the Islands as an aftermath of the war with Spain in Cuba. Filipinos would probably have had their independence without America. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, General Aguinaldo, leader of the Filipinos, declared war against Spain. The Americans first promised Aguinaldo the independence of his country; then they landed troops in the Philippines and forgot all about their promise. The United States, to soothe its conscience, paid Spain sixty million rupees to relinquish its claim against the Filipinos. They were not sold as so many heads of cattle to the United States. Moreover, the Philippines cannot be held permanently as a human cattleranch for the benefit of the American investors.

The general feeling in the archipelago is for independence. Although there are several political parties, they are all united on the single question of independence.

JAPANESE BOGEY

American imperialists, however, are opposed to the Philippine ambition. They consider the Islands vital to the defence of American interests in the Pacific. More, they believe the Philippines constitute an important link in the line of Anglo-American outposts which "depend, and upon which depends, the success of the effort ultimately to control the great Pacific area".

This line of argument, according to the Philippines, is fallacious if not impudent. Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate and unquestionably the most powerful leader in the Islands, is of the opinion that war in the Pacific is certain and if his country is kept under the American control it will — as a belligerent — suffer greatly.

“The first reason for Philippine independence”, said Mr. Quezon, in a recent interview with a representative of the American press, “is the natural aspiration of a people to be free. This aspiration is supported by all Filipinos, with the exception of a very few who have misgivings about our international security and our national economic life.

“The second reason is one of safety. War in the Pacific is certain and America will be in any war in the Pacific. The position of these islands, independent, would be safer than under the flag of a belligerent. As long as the Philippines are under the American flag, Japan will not feel at ease. Japan will feel that the continued possession of these islands by America will amount almost to an act of aggression by the United States against Japan.

“In case of a Japanese-American war, the first country to be attacked will be the Philippines. If the Philippines were absolutely independent and alone, they would not be a menace to Japan and would not provoke an act of aggression from Japan, because of our very weakness. Wars are fought because nations fear the growth of others as economic or commercial rivals. The Philippines, independent, could not be an economic or

commercial rival to any one, therefore she would be a menace to no one.

“ On the other hand the weakness of an independent Philippine would not be an invitation to aggression for several reasons. First, if the Philippines become a prize, without protection or the benefits of a neutrality agreement, England would not permit Japan to take the islands because Japan holding them would be a menace to India and Hongkong and Australia. France would oppose such an act on account of her holdings in Indo-China and the United States of America would oppose it also because it would be a menace to Guam.

“ The United States would have no particular strategic reason against Japan taking the Philippines whereas England would, but it would be to the interests of the United States not to let Japan get too strong. It would be to the interests of the United States to keep the Japanese out of the Philippines. Also sentiment would make you protect us. ”

Quezon and his nationalist followers are shrewd political strategists. They see clearly that Europe is against Japan, and that the European powers will go the limit to keep Japan away from the Philippines in order to protect their own position in the Pacific. The archipelago, has, therefore, little to fear from Japan. But will the voice of reason prevail with America ? Can imperialists anywhere be tamed without coercion ?

Already a hue and cry has gone up that Hawaii, which is about four thousand miles from the Philip-

pines, is vulnerable: it is underfortified and underarmed. " More troops, more guns, more ships, more docks, and many more facilities are needed to provide for a sure defense. They should be provided to the point of superfluity ". The chairman of the House Naval Committee has already announced that he will offer legislation designed to make Hawaii " the strongest military outpost in the world ". Hawaii should be made into a new Heligoland, just as the English are doing to Singapore. The fact that further fortifications at Hawaii and Singapore would violate the spirit, if not the letter of the Four Power Treaty, and defeat the whole purpose of the Washington Conference does not seem to bother the imperialists.

FILIPINOS A NATION

Another reason the opponents of the Philippine independence likes to dilate upon is the heterogeneity of the Filipinos. This argument does not hold water. America itself is very far from being a homogenous nation. Take the city of Chicago alone where there are more Italians than in Rome, more Bohemians than in Prague, twice as many Irish as in Dublin, more Germans than any German city except Hamburg and Berlin, Poles, Slavs, Jews, Negroes, English, and representatives of almost every race and tribe. They come from all the cultural wastes of Siberia, Hungary, Africa, Australia, Canada, Mexico, and South America. Nor is Chicago the only American city inhabited by innumerable different races. What of New York, the headquarters of American hundred percenters ? Some idea as to the polyglotic character

of its population may be gathered from the fact that every fifth man in New York is a Jew. Should America now deny God's greatest gift, which is independence, to the Filipino people because of alleged heterogeneity ?

The much-talked of wild Moros of the Philippines are also sometimes held up as a bugaboo. The Moros are Mohammedans and occupy chiefly the mountains in the island of Mindano, the southernmost island of the Philippines. Of the total 12,000,000 population in the Philippines, fewer than 400,000 are Moros. To put it in another way, Moros constitute less than four per cent of the population. Moros cut the same figure in the Philippines as the Red Indians did in America fifty years ago. Yet many Americans, intent upon keeping the Filipinos under subjection, forget that fact and insist upon doing " Our duty to the Moros ". According to this view, it is altruism, the " white man's burden " and missionary zeal which would not permit America to leave Filipinos to themselves.

The truth of the matter is that the Philippines are a valuable asset to the United States. America has much to gain from the development of the Philippine trade and commerce. Even now the Philippine people absorb the product of 200,000 acres of cotton lands in the United States. Again, the product of more than 3,000 acres of orchards are shipped to the Philippines from this country. " The Philippines now supply, " said the American director of the Philippines Bureau of Forestry, " less than one-tenth

of the tropical products consumed in the United States. They should supply them all." That's imperial America.

ETHICS OF RUBBER

Candor compels one to admit that the chief reason for continuing American rule is economic, rather than altruistic. American capitalists have invested heavily in the insular possession. Moreover, in recent years the possibility of growing raw materials, especially rubber, in "our own" Philippines has exercised great fascination upon official circles at Washington. They want American capital to develop the rubber producing possibilities of the Islands.

America has undoubtedly great need for rubber. American buyers represent seventy-seven per cent of the world's rubber market. In 1925 the total world's rubber production was 505,000 tons, and of this the United States alone consumed 396,000 tons. In other words, America used three-fourths of all the rubber produced in the world.

Most of this rubber was employed in manufacturing automobile tires. Note, too, in this connection that Americans use more autos than any other people on this planet. Out of twenty-seven and a half million automobiles in the world, more than twenty two million autos were registered in the United States in 1926. This gives one car to every American family assuming, of course, that there are six people to every family.

Though the United States is the greatest consumer

of rubber, it controls only about three per cent of the world's rubber production. Most of the rubber in the world is produced in English and Dutch territories, but used in America. "Great Britain and Holland, between them, control more than eighty per cent of the world's rubber supply, Great Britain alone controlling more than sixty-five per cent."

Such a condition the United States is in no mood to tolerate. So the scheme is, in certain quarters, to grow rubber in the Philippines, where the conditions are said to be more favorable to a cultivation of rubber than in Ceylon, Malaya, Sumatra or other Eastern regions. The Philippines should be the American rubber source. Make America free from the domination of the foreign rubber supply. "American rubber for Americans" is the cry. Let British rubber growers hang themselves by their own ropes. Thus American automobile tires and Filipino politics are at this moment very closely related.

Now rubber is a large-scale capitalized business. And the Philippine government has passed a law limiting land ownership in the Islands capable of producing rubber to 2,500 acres. They are too small for a modern rubber plantation. The chief intent of the Philippine law is to keep out capitalistic Americans. Filipinos realize that if American interests develop a rubber supply in their country, Americans will never get out of the Islands.

Will the United States Congress take an imperialistic view of the situation and cause Filipinos to change their law of small land holdings on behalf of American

rubber industry ? Will the Washington government go back on its pledged word and deny Filipinos their independence ? The one question answers the other. The protesting voice of the thoughtful American people may be heard in this paragraph from a recent issue of the *New York Times* :

“ The United States, committed to independence, cannot reverse its policy without a break of faith. It cannot decide to retain the Philippines as ‘ permanent territory ’ to please the commercial or any other interests in the face of the desire of the Filipinos for self-government and sovereignty. They may yet decide against separation, but unless they do so the United States can pursue only one course with honor ”.

The obstinate “ little brown brothers ” have so far given no sign of a desire that their lands should be opened up to unlimited American investments and that they should be permanently occupied by American rubber kings. Yet members of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines, and patriotic statesmen in the United States have demanded that Congress should remove the restrictions in the Philippine land law and proceed to have mammoth rubber plantations under the Star Spangled Banner.

Mr. Stimson, the present Governor General of the Philippines, wants a revision of the Philippine land laws. Governor Stimson says that “ what capital demands and what it has a right to expect is safety of investments and the certainty of fair treatment under the law of the country where the investment is made. ” He recommends “ a wise and conservative revision

of the, land laws, as well as of all the laws under which capital comes in contact with government. "

Under the circumstances, American national altruism is being put to severe strains these days. Big business interests regard the Filipinos, who oppose American exploitation of their country, as inconvenient peoples. " Let us explain to the Filipinos that we couldn't do what we originally thought we could", was the recent editorial utterance of the New York *World's Work* magazine, " that, as we have to stay in the islands permanently, the stay is not going to be purely altruistic; that we are going to give them a better government than they could provide for themselves, more health, prosperity, and opportunity, and at the same time we are going to make the islands far more profitable to American business than they have been; that we hope that this will be to our mutual advantage. When we have made this clear we shall be rid of a kind of hypocrisy which had clouded our dealings with the islands. " To which the Filipino people might reply: " Hooray ! Here is at least no greasy hypocrisy. "

DETERMINEDLY NATIONALISTIC

The demand for Philippine independence has often been scouted by the American Tory press as only the agitation of a few politicians. They are contemptuously referred to by the American colonially minded as " politicians ". To give independence to the Filipinos would, said a New York political boss, " leave 12,000,000 people at the mercy of 500,000 cheap, low-down politicians ". This is very interest-



• Rizal Monument, " Manila
A monument
to the great mas'vied
patriot of the Philippines

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ing since this particular New York boss is one of a couple of thousand American politicians who have about 127,000,000 people, including the Filipinos, at their mercy.

The significant fact in the Philippine situation is that Filipinos are determinedly nationalistic, and are resolutely bent upon securing their freedom. The various political leaders have put nationalistic principles and policies ahead of personal ambitions.

Professor Upton Close of Washington University, who had been in the Philippines not long ago to make a first-hand study of its conditions, reports the existence of a Supreme National Council composed of majority and minority faction leaders. The Supreme Council has a National Advisory Committee. This Central Committee is made up of the members of the Philippine Legislature and all the elected Governors of the provinces.

The Solidarity Central Committee sub-divides into Solidarity Provincial Committees which in turn operate through Solidarity Municipal and Township Committees. Thus a well-knit political organization covers the whole country from its capital to its remotest village.

The one prime object of these numerous committees, according to Upton Close, is to prosecute relentless campaigns of national independence. "Give me Liberty or give me Death", is the cry of every Filipino patriot. He quotes the words of Abraham Lincoln: "When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself

and also governs another man, that is more than self-government — that is despotism ”.

The leaders of the Philippine independence movement are laboring as much to create a united nation, as to win its freedom and control its destiny. They want no white alien rule of “benevolence”, of “altruistic social and political effort”. Said Manuel Quezon, the President of the Philippine Senate: “We would rather be governed like hell and do it ourselves than like Heaven and have it done for us”.

• PROGRESS OF EDUCATION

The Philippines under American rule have undoubtedly made great progress in certain directions. After quarter of a century of American control, illiteracy has been much reduced. Today there is a complete educational system, beginning with the primary school and culminating in the University of the Philippines. The Manila government is spending more than twenty five per cent of the revenue for public educational purposes. The rate of literacy, the level of education, is much higher in the Island than in several of the countries in western and southern Europe. The Filipino people seem to have a consuming thirst for education. At present 70 percent of the Filipinos can read and write. Out of a population of twelve millions, nearly a million and a half children are in schools. This means that 12.5 percent of the Filipino population is now being educated as compared with 20 percent in the United States, 3.5 percent in India, 2.3 percent in the Dutch Indies, and 5 percent in French Indo-China. And as yet there is no compulsory education



A group of Philippine
college girls

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in the Philippine Islands !

Moreover, the mortality rate has been diminished from 45 under the Spanish regime to 16 per thousand at present.

Trade, too, has increased from Rs. 105,000,000 to Rs. 600,000,000. The people of the Philippines enjoy more freedom and more self-government now than they ever did before.

PROGRESS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Although a subject dependency, the Philippines enjoy a large measure of autonomy. The legislature is wholly Filipino. The legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and competence, and are made up of representative Filipinos.

Of the six secretaries who are the heads of executive departments, through which the Governor General exercises executive authority, five are Filipinos and only one an American. Of the Justices of the Supreme Court, five are Americans and four Filipinos. The Chief Justice has always been a Filipino. The Attorney General and the Solicitor General are Filipinos. The prosecuting attorneys through the Islands are all Filipinos.

The Filipino people also enjoy a most complete local self-government. Of the 893 presidents of municipalities, not one is an American. Of the 43 Governors of provinces only 3 are Americans, and these are in the backward provinces.

The enforcement of law and order is largely in the hands of the inhabitants of the Islands. Of the

officers of the Philippine constabulary, the only force of the insular government for the maintenance of law and order, only three per cent are Americans.

The personnel of the Bureau of Customs and Bureau of Posts is more than ninety-nine and a half per cent Filipino, and that of the Bureau of Lands and Bureau of Internal Revenue is 99 per cent Filipino. The officials of the Treasury Department are all Filipinos.

The Governor General has large appointive powers; but all his appointments are passed upon by the Philippine legislature. The Filipinozation of the Philippine government has proceeded so far that there are today less than 3 per cent of Americans in the government including teachers. To be more exact, there are only 2.1 per cent Americans in the whole governmental system in the Philippines and this includes school teachers.

REPUBLIC FOR FILIPINOS

Filipinos are restive and are getting tired of the old advice: "Live horse, and you will get grass". Filipinos want their independence, and want it soon. It is their intention to make their country at the earliest possible opportunity a republic, a government of the people and by the people.

Are the Filipinos ready for a free government? They believe they are. Many of their leaders have shown marked capacity for serving their government and their country. They would be a credit to any nation. Moreover, the young generation is full of promise. If the Filipinos are not given their independence before economic imperialism is more firmly

intrenched, they may never be free. Once the consecrated seers and dervishes of "white man's burden" get full control of the economic resources of the Islands, they will probably never be allowed to go.

Some of the Western critics may say that the republic is too heady a dose for the Philippines. Filipino leaders, however, are full of confidence in the competency of their people to run a representative government. They say that the Manila government, at its worst, could not sink as far low as some of the present governments in Europe. With the examples before our eyes of "democratic" Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where governments go by successful usurpation, force and assassination, it hardly needs discussion to prove that European races have no monopoly of democratic government. Filipinos, by instinct and training, are law-abiding people. They have amply demonstrated their ability to work a stable and orderly government.

No one knows for sure when the Philippines will be free in ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred years. I don't know. All I know is that as year chases year, it will become more and more difficult for the Filipinos to shake themselves loose from the iron grasp of Uncle Sam. The Philippines offer a first class naval and commercial base for American expansion in the Pacific zone. And with the United States trade rapidly increasing in the Far East, Americans would find it profitable to linger in their insular territory longer and longer. Moreover, if the contemplated large-scale production of rubber in the Philippines is carried

out, the Islands may remain subject to America for an indefinite period of time.

As an impartial and detached observer, I do not hesitate for a moment to say that by and large Americans are an efficient people, and that they have given the Filipinos an efficient government. But — is efficiency the sole test of government? An American writer rightly has pointed out that "most of the arguments used for the retention of the Philippines by the United States might with equal strength be used to support the American conquest of Europe." And yet which of the European nations would think such a conquest justifiable?

The love of freedom is inherent in human nature. Neither economic prosperity, nor the benefit of so-called good government by an alien race, can ever supplant the human longing to be free. Philosophers of liberalism from Mill to Campbell — Bannerman and Hobhouse have always conceded that "good government is no proper substitute for self-government."

Senator Osmena, who is said to be the genius of Philippine "unrest," stated in a recent interview that Filipinos are ready for self-government and they will never be satisfied with anything short of complete independence.

"Independence is the natural aspiration of all people," Mr. Osmena was quoted in the news dispatch. "That's always our first reason for wanting independence. The second reason is that we now consider ourselves capable of governing ourselves, and



MISS PHILIPPINES.

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our belief in our capacity is based on the knowledge that we know the problems of our people better than you do and we know how to solve them, and for several years now we have succeeded in maintaining a stable government. One further reason is that America has promised independance to the Filipino people from the beginning of American occupation of these islands. " The Philippines are a testing point for America.

CHAPTER XXXI

AMERICAN POLITICS

The fortunes of the world are tightly tied up to the wheels of the American Chariot. No intelligent person in any country can afford to remain ignorant of American politics. The United States is the most powerful nation of the globe. There may be howls, here and there, against the American domination; but no country – or a possible combination of countries – is strong enough to make a successful attack against the United States. Apart from its economic importance, it also offers to connoisseurs of the American brand of democratic illusion rich material to ponder over. The political American, with his democratic yearnings and his peculiarly good and bad qualities, is a curious and puzzling animal. Some one should get him under the glass, and study him at length.

Professor Gordon J. Laing of the University of Chicago said at the dedication of the monument to Pasteur that the United States needed a social Pasteur who would provide it with antitoxins for some of its maladies of ideas and opinions, particularly for those of political partisanship. Is there a need for such an inoculation?

The people of this Federal Republic have set up a system of party organisations through which they are

supposed to make known their wishes in regard to the policies which shall be adopted by their representatives. According to this theory, the people have the power to make the final decision, through their parties, in respect to the making of changes in their government.

Party adherence is a part of American governmental and political order; but this adherence is most often by tradition. The great masses of voters take the party of their fathers. In making their party affiliations and in supporting their candidates, they consider personalities rather than platforms and issues. Their political attachments are related to emotions and prejudices, rather than to intellect. Strictly speaking, the main basis of cleavage between the parties is that "ins" and "outs" namely, those in control of the government and those in opposition thereto.

THE MAJOR PARTIES.

The two political parties which have been ruling the country for the last sixty years or so, are the Republican party and the Democratic party. Somehow or other, the Republicans have been at the helm of affairs more often than the Democrats; but the Republicans are not more wise or more virtuous than the Democrats. Indeed, the recent history of the Republican administration is a record of waste, dishonesty, loot, bribery, and scandalous misconduct of government officials. They were not mere subordinates, but men occupying highest public stations, including members of the Cabinet.

The Democratic party in the past has often differed from the Republican party. The Democrats supported

the Civil War, based on state's rights. For decades, they favoured "tariff for revenue only." They also stood against imperialism. All these positions the Democrats have virtually surrendered one after another. The platform of the Democratic party is today not essentially different from that of the Republican party; their policies are as "like as twins." The issues favoured by the Democrats and Republicans look like twins, and talk like twins. They are a scream !

When the election time comes, the two old parties give us the spectacle of political machines and party hacks raising huge campaign funds, sending out speakers, organizing torch-light processions, arranging hand-shaking parties, and otherwise beating political tom-toms. They are master showmen.

The Republican party as well as the Democratic party may be characterized as parties of self-complacency. They see little need of changes in political and economic institutions of the country. They represent the rule of organized wealth, and are unwilling to take radical steps in regard to the tariff, labor, the Negro, or the farmer. They are satisfied in their own mind that America is the best country in the best of all possible worlds. "Don't change anything. Keep still. Let well enough alone" is the attitude of both the old-line party leaders. They are slaves of the status quo; they are drugged by too much prosperity.

SOCIALIST PARTY

As against the Republican-Democratic complacency, stands the third party : the Socialist party. It

supports to represent liberalism and progressivism, or as its opponents would have it, dissatisfied elements.

The Socialist party has not demanded the complete abolition of all private property in the means of production. The American Socialists have, from time to time, declared in favour of "graduated inheritance and income taxes; universal suffrage; the initiative and referendum; proportional representation and the right of recall (of elective officials); popular election of judges; employment of idle working men on large government undertakings; collective ownership of all industries in which competition has ceased to exist; extension of the public domain to include mineral resources, forests, and water power, and compulsory government insurance for the working class. "

The Socialists do not like the capitalists system, which gauges the masses for the benefit of the favoured few. They believe in the philosophy of " Class struggle ": capital and labor have nothing in common, but a fight. The Socialist formula is easy enough; but, alas, the reality is so complicated :

The Socialists have no immediate hope of converting the majority of the Americans to their views. They are, however, convinced that the difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties is the difference between the tweedledum and tweedledee. Said a leader of the Socialist party :

" There is no essential difference between the Republican party and the Democratic party in principle, aims, composition, and methods, and there has been

practically none since the days of the Civil war. The Democrats are pure when the Republicans are in office. The Republicans are progressive when the Democrats are in office. Both are corrupt and reactionary when in power. Under the alternate rule of the Siamese political twins our people have lost faith and interest in politics, and have abandoned the destinies of the Republic to the bipartisan political machine with a sense of cynical resignation. "

Current estimates place the strength of the Socialist* party in the United States at approximately 1,000,000. The largest Socialist vote ever polled in this country was 919,000 in the Presidential election of 1920.

At present the entrenched economic forces are bitterly opposed to Socialism. It remains a dream. Will this dream come true? " Who knows but that socialism itself will come, " observes a mellowed American thinker, " not through justice but through the growing dissatisfaction of technical and executive minds with the wastefulness and chaos of individualist industry? It would be a pleasant turn of affairs (would it not?) if socialism -- the replacement of competition by cooperation in our economic life -- were to come not from below but from above, not from the weak but from the strong, not from men suffering from poverty, but from men employed by wealth and enlightened by education. It is not the brave rebel in the ranks who will bring a better order to mankind; it is the wise leaders of industry, and the quietly competent inventors, technicians, and

engineers, who will declare war against waste, duplication, disorder, mediocrity and dishonesty in the factories and markets and offices of the world." The Socialist makers of new society do not agree that this is the way to get the old order out of the way; but let us leave here the opportunist and mellowed thinkers to dream their dreams.

FEDERATION OF LABOR

One of the reasons for the weakness of the socialist party in America is that the organized American labor is not interested in Socialism. It has made but slow progress among American workmen. In European countries, the labor organisations are dominated by the Socialist parties; but in the United States there are very few Socialists among the recognised leaders of organized labor.

The most comprehensive union organisation – the American Federation of Labor – dominates today the labor movement in the United States. As its name indicates, this organisation is a federation, not a centralised national structure. It recognizes the necessity of separate national unions in each of the occupational groups. These autonomous crafts or trade unions make their own Policies and progress of action; but they unite with each other in a loose federal organisation "for the purpose of solving problems which they share in common and of promoting unity of action within the ranks of the organized labor class as a whole." The membership of trade unions within the American Federation of Labor changes frequently. Secessions and new affiliations are common. It has

been asserted that the Federation has nearly three million members. The point to note here is that the Federation of Labor is a conservative body. It is no more Socialistic than the Europe-an Association of Calcutta is Swarajist, or J. Ramsay MacDonald is a Mohammedan.

The American Federation of Labor condemns independent political action on the part of trade unions. It has never lent countenance to the idea of a separate Labor party. The Federation believes that the interests of American labor will be "protected and conserved by a strict adherence to a non-partisan policy." And although the Federation holds aloof from strictly partisan politics it scrutinizes records of all candidates preparatory to giving support to those known to be sympathetic toward union labor and working against those who are not. The labor officials-are convinced that the best way of securing influence in politics is to play one major party off against the other. They do not seem to know that the old party candidates and the old party platforms leave a very wide gap between promise and performance.

The labor unionists have no idea about the "class struggle." Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has been proclaiming in season and out, that cooperation between the employer and the wage-earner is the keystone of industrial prosperity. Still, as any student of American Social History can tell, only when the employer has good reason to fear the strength of trade unions, can collective bargaining be enforced.

No doubt the Unions have succeeded to a certain extent in raising the wages and bettering the conditions of their members; but in spite of the fitful efforts of the American Federation of Labor, it is a minority -- as contrasted with unorganized labor. Not only are the professional and salaried workers unorganized, but also agricultural workers, domestic servants, and the great majority of unskilled labor.

Both Republicans and Democrats hold that the "Labor vote" is only figurative in Presidential elections. Recent campaigns show that the average worker votes as an individual, not in accordance with his union affiliations, but in accordance with his long-standing political bias.

PHILOSOPHY OF LABOR UNIONS

What does the American labor want? "Organized labor asserts the right to better living," answers one of its spokes-men, "better conditions of labor, larger leisure and means to enjoy it, greater security and stability of earnings, better protections of life and health." A full belly is all that it asks and all that it thinks makes life worth living. Beyond this, American organized labor has no social vision, no social philosophy.

The American Federation of Labor has accepted the wage-earners -- so it is agreed -- will come through substituting collective for individual bargaining. The Federation does not deny the fact of industrial conflict; but it rejects the Marxian theory of Class conflict in which the destruction of the employing class seems to be the starting-point of the social reorgani-

sation. The American organized labor "does deny that conflict is or ought to be the normal state of the relations existing between employers and employed, or that an intelligent co-operation of workers with their employers is disloyal to their own class."

The labor movement in America is faced with many difficulties both within and without, but especially without. It has enemies in the federations of the employers, troubles with their strike-breaking agencies, their systems of black list and persecution, and their politicians, hired to turn the law against the worker.

The prime reason why there is in America no Labor party with a political progress of its own is because the workingmen have hypnotized themselves into believing that they have more to gain by staying in old established channels than by setting up a separate party. "Welcomed by the major parties, especially the Democrats," says Dr. Charles A. Beard in *The American Party Battle*, "workingmen entered politics freely, obtained elective offices, and climbed to high appointive positions in the government. And this opportunity to obtain power, coupled with the responsibility that went with it, made them cautious about undertaking large reconstructions of society by their own efforts." In other words, all it amounts to, is that the American laboringmen are hitched to the post. Politics make strange bed-fellows. It is very sad.

WHITHER BOUND ?

The Socialist party is too small numerically to

exert any considerable influence upon American Politics. The two major parties, Republican and Democrat, are busy with routine common-place affairs. They profess the principles of liberty, equality and justice without the practice. They are not engaged in working for far reaching social or economic reforms. They do not even declare themselves definitely upon some of the great questions of the day such as Imperialism, Peace, Disarmament.

The organization and methods of the Republican party as well as of the Democratic Party are alike. Their platforms, if placed side by side, bear a family resemblance. Their party 'Principles' are mere window dressing, meaningless phrases, traps to cage votes. Their promises too, are in large part of the same sort: empty.

What I gather from the contemporary American scene is support for my deep suspicion that Americans' are most over estimated people as adepts in self-Government. Offices are frequently filled with politicians who are as dishonest as they make them. Newspapers are full of revelations of thuggery in public life. When lonely liberals try to clear up scandals and corruptions in government, American voters refuse to respond to their efforts. The blame for these shameful conditions should be placed on the appalling lack of intelligent political interest at that time. Honest and efficient administrators decline to mold a government position because there are larger returns in business enterprise. Even if a real statesman should consent to enter politics, he would have about as much chance of

getting elected to office in this country as a snow bird would have of flying across the hades. The result is that insufficient, even crooked, politicians with talent for snaring votes have the run of the government. Such is politics in this "land of the pilgrim's pride".

The quadrennial Presidential elections come and go; but they seldom bring first rate men to the front, nor do they spell great changes in the policies of the world. When the final ballots are counted it is generally found that the newly elected President is another innocuous politician — a brilliant vacuity.

CHAPTER XXXII

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

A few days ago an American Baptist missionary from Burma dropped in my office and informed me that the missionaries of his denomination usually refer to the Bay of Bengal as the Baptist Bay. Now I am not acquainted with all the curiosities of the Baptist sorcery such as total immersion, preordination, or triple duckings; but I do know, that a terrible war is now going on in America between Christianity and science. For the moment, it looks as if the orthodox Christianity will go the way of palmistry and phrenology and witchcraft; but maybe I am mistaken.

The conventional orthodox Christian religion is now represented in the United States by a movement known as Fundamentalism. It insists that not a single word of the Bible from the first page to the last, is to be doubted of its divine truth. The Fundamentalists are "cover to cover" Christians. They are for scraping the biological and geological science of the last hundred years in favor of the old fly-blown myth of Genesis. Fundamentalism, as every sane-minded person will agree, is synthetic bigotry, arrogance, and intolerance.

Not long ago the state of Tennessee passed a law prohibiting the teaching of evolution. More recently

the States Text Board of Texas, presided over by the Governor, has ordered all references to evolution to be taken out of school texts. In many other States there have been efforts to regulate how much science may be taught in schools and colleges, without violating the sanctity of the Holy Writ. This has naturally given rise to furious debates on such problems as these: "The ice age versus the Garden of Eden. The Cro-magnons versus Adam and Eve. A universe in six days or one in inorganic and organic evolution. An earth that is flat with a revolving sun or geological and biological ages and distance in light years."

The attempt to make people believe by law in the literal interpretation of the scripture, however crude and obscene it may be, is not startlingly new in Christendom. John Calvin and Michael Servitus were members of the same church; but Calvin burnt Servitus with a slow fire because he did not believe in Calvinistic Holy Ghost.

Myths and fables need not be suppressed altogether. They have their place. One can write about them in fiction, or sing about them in poetry. All I say is that to glorify them into a religious creed is a crime against the common decencies of the world.

DARK AGE IN AMERICA

In the Dark Ages of Europe, the sword and the fagot lay across the holy Bible. The enforcement of the scriptural injunction, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" has drenched the world in blood; Witch-hunting was at one time a noble Christian institution in Europe and America. With the holy

Bible as authority, tens of thousands of miserable creatures—men and women, young and old—have been hunted, drowned, burned, and tortured throughout the Christendom even to within the recent times. John Wesley, the father of Methodist Christianity, believed in witchcraft. And when the State of Massachusetts passed a law against this belief, Wesley in discouragement told his followers in America that the State might as well take from Christians their belief in the Bible as their belief in witches. And yet witchcraft is not regarded by most sober Christians as a fundamental tenet of their belief to day.

Three-quarters of a century ago when anaesthetics were first discovered and surgeons performed operations without inflicting pain, Christian clergymen with text in hand rose in violent protest. "God wishes men to suffer", they insisted, "and to enable them to escape pain with chloroform is interfering with God's will". Then a doctor recalled a chapter in Genesis. "That", he explained with a grim sardonic smile, "is the record of the first surgical operation performed by God himself. The text proves that the Maker took out one of Adam's ribs for the creation of Eve, and *caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam*. It is exactly what we scientists do when we give anaesthetics before we operate". That thrust from the man of science put an end to clerical cackling against anaesthetics.

For many centuries the church, through the aid of the state, had sought to strangle science. When Copernicus made the discovery that the earth revolved the

sun and was not the centre of the universe, he was ridiculed by Martin Luther and also by the Catholic "upstart astrologer." Later when Galileo confirmed Copernicus's observations, he was thrown into prison. Galileo was told that he had "vitiating the whole Christian plan of salvation." The learned Church officials argued that "if there were other planets, they must be inhabited since God made nothing in vain; but those inhabitants could not be descended from Adam; therefore they and their planets could not exist." Poor Galileo was forced by the holy men of the church, backed by the state, to "curse the error and the heresy of the movement of the earth." Glory hallelujah, praise the Lord!

The churchmen, with all their zeal for the holy Gospel, never succeeded in halting the march of science. Even some of the orthodox American Christians are understood to be coming around to the theory that the earth is round, in spite of the fact that the Bible solemnly describes four angels standing on the four corners of the earth.

The State of Virginia had law compelling church attendance; the first two offenses were liable to be punished with fine, and for the third offense the penalty was death. That was Fundamentalism in action—the prime stupidity of an intolerant community.

The Fundamentalists maintain that "the path of the human race was downward from angel to devil". The Scientists, on the other hand, hold that according to evolution it is upward from anthropoid and canni-

bal to culture, civilization, tolerance, "We are not fallen angels, but developed animals".

Fundamentalism with its voodoo theology is immensely popular in these United States, so is also the anti-foreign, anti-Jew and anti-colored Ku Klux Klan with its lynching, tarring and feathering, and barbarities of a dozen other varieties. When I think of the millions and millions of Fundamentalists and their tremendous influence upon the American Commonwealth, it seems to me that the great pox of Christian Kultur is perhaps incurable.

The high priest of American Fundamentalism was William Jennings Bryan. He ran three times for the presidency of the United States; but he will be remembered chiefly as a dazzling luminary of American theology. He had a literal mind. Monsieur Bryan, Defender of the Bible, is now sleeping his last sleep under the sod. His mantle, however, has fallen on his fiery disciples. They are in hearty accord with the religious views of William Jennings and have declared that the crusade against the scientists will go on, notwithstanding the death of the leader. The world can therefore reasonably hope to hear more of this muddle-headed Fundamentalist movement in the near future.

BRYAN ON INDIA

Making proper allowance for his queer religious notions, William Jennings Bryan must be rated as a distinguished figure in American political life. His career, as a professional peace lover, a prohibitionist,

a politician and an orator, was astonishing in many ways. I met him a number of times, and was impressed by his courage. He was a large, stately and solemn-faced man. He had a theology which he wore like a suit of chainmail against all scientific questionings.

Mr. Bryan in spite of his crude theology, was a political well-wisher of India. A personal experience of the writer may shed a little light on the point. When he was Secretary of State during the reign of Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the first Indian exclusion bill was introduced into Congress. As a spokesman of the Indians in America, I waited upon Mr. Bryan. I suggested that if necessary Indians should be excluded like the people of any other country by a mutual understanding, rather than by a Congressional act and on racial grounds. Such an agreement would eliminate the stigma of racial inferiority and at the same time shut off Indian immigration if that seemed necessary. Mr. Bryan saw the reasonableness of my proposal and offered to intervene diplomatically, provided he had the backing of the British ambassador Cecil-Rice.

I approached Sir Arthur Spring Cecil-Rice at the embassy. He received me with a broad beaming smile, and shook my hand like an old friend. But the moment I explained my mission, the glittering smile faded away. He became jumpy and visibly irritated that we Indians, rather than the English rulers of India, should take the lead in an international negotiation. His Britannic majesty's ambassador, under one pretext or another, refused to have anything to do with Bryan.

The result was that he could do nothing for us.

Mr. Bryan was an anti-imperialist. His sympathies were decidedly for the political under-dog. In his trip around the world in 1905 he visited India and delivered several addresses. He also wrote an article on "British Rule in India." It showed that he had somehow learned the deeper facts of the Indian situation.

In this article Mr. Bryan maintained that England had deliberately broken the promises made to India, and that the English domination of India was worse than the Czarist despotism in Russia. "The government of India," wrote Mr. Bryan, "is as arbitrary and despotic as the government of Russia ever was, and in two respects it is worse. First, it is administered by an alien people, whereas the officials of Russia are Russian. Secondly, it drains a large part of the taxes out of the country, whereas the Russian government spends at home the money which it collects from the people."

Mr. Bryan urged that England should pay more attention to the intellectual progress of the Indian people and more regard to their wishes. "Let no one cite India as an argument in defense of colonialism," stated the article. "On the Ganges and the Indus the Briton, in spite of his many noble qualities and his large contributions to the world's advancement, has demonstrated, as many have before, man's inability to exercise with wisdom and justice irresponsible power over helpless people. He has conferred some benefits upon India, but he has extorted a tremendous price

for them.

"While he has boasted of bringing peace to the living he has led millions to the peace of the grave; while he has dwelt upon order established between warring troops he has impoverished the country by legalized pillage. Pillage is a strong word, but no refinement of language can purge the present system of its iniquity."

THE FIGHTING PACIFIST

Bryan, the peace lover, was also a soldier, an army officer. A little over a quarter of a century ago, when the Spanish - American war broke out, Bryan organized a regiment of United States Volunteers from his native State of Nebraska and was appointed its colonel. Yet he was, as mentioned a minute ago, a pacifist by profession. He constantly declared that his life was devoted to "peace on earth and goodwill toward men." Perhaps in his secret heart, Bryan was a believer in George Washington's aphorism: "Government is not reason, it is not eloquence - it is force." Who knows?

William Jennings had gradually given up "mundane politics for purely ghostly concerns," baroque theology. He was in recent years less of a practicing politician and more of a Fundamentalist Pope.

Colonel Bryan wished to be buried in Arlington, the national cemetery of American soldiers of war. This wish of his was fulfilled. His body, resting in a bronze casket under the folds of an American flag, was laid away in its last resting place with all the

formal ceremony which usually attends a military funeral. The follower of the "Prince of Peace" went to his long sleep as a warrior. It seems to be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a Fundamentalist to turn a genuine apostle of pacifism. I do not here decry Bryan; on the contrary, I praise him, perhaps excessively as a man of aggressive personality. It is, however, a puzzle to me that this Christian gentleman, who professed pacifism in politics, should desire a military burial. Will the honors paid to him at Arlington be interpreted by the half-educated bucolic Fundamentalists as an effective indictment of evolution? In any event, the Commoner lived in the full blaze of publicity and he died in the midst of the glare of a thousand fierce spotlights. Americans are so different from Indians. Other lands, other customs!

I cannot help recalling in this connection the death of Socrates, "the originating genius of common sense". Just before he drank the bitter hemlock, Crito asked him how he wished to be buried. This was the famous reply of the great Socrates:

"Just as you please, provided you can lay hold of me".

CHAPTER XXXIII

FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY

Will India be a Christian country? Will the people of India, Hindus and Mohammadans, accept the Western Kultur and admit its superiority? Is America the country to lead India?

These are some of the questions which Reverend Charles W. Gilkey, the Barrows lecturer to India, tried to answer at a large meeting recently held at the State University of Iowa. To the great astonishment of his audience, which is more or less accustomed to being fed Missionary sob stuff, Reverend Gilkey denied that India is about to throw overboard its rich cultural heritage, and is about to import Western civilization and Western theology in large barrels.

GANDHI THE ONLY CHRISTIAN

"Wherever the white man has gone in the Orient", remarked Mr. Gilkey, "he carried with him three things: a purse, a cross, and a sword. The cross is tucked away under the garment, presumably near his heart. But at every crisis his hand has flown instantly to the sword at his side. With the white man money has been the most important consideration, and religion neglected and forgotten.

"Our highly-touted Western Christianity fails

when measured by the touchstone of Jesus Christ. India is beginning to look askance at the Christianity presented to it in the Occidental garb, wrapped up in Western paper, and addressed in a Western hand. The Orient has heard enough of the theories about the Christian religion, and now desires to learn how much of that religion is practised by the Occidentals".

Charles Whitney Gilkey was appointed about a year ago by the University of Chicago as the Barrows lecturer to the university centres of India. The purpose of the Barrows foundation, which was established in 1895 following the World's Parliament of Religions, is to promote international understanding in things religious. This seeks to achieve by sending to India every fifth year a Protestant clergyman, preferably a Baptist Christian. India has had six Barrows lecturers so far.

Gilkey returned to America convinced that India's greatest interest remains in her religions. "An epoch-making metamorphosis has taken place in the thought and attitude of India", testified the Barrows lecturer, "during the past few years. Naive and medieval in his social and economic ideas, Mahatma Gandhi is the only man I know who so nearly approximates Jesus Christ. A wizened figure weighing only 115 pounds, Gandhi has been elevated to a plane of reverence and adoration that approaches deification."

INDIAN MESSAGE

The climax of Mr. Gilkey's address was in the message that he brought to America from the editor

of the *Indian Social Reformer*, K. Nataranjan, whom he referred to as "One of the most eminent of living Indians". The message from Nataranjan was given in these words :

" You have brought us greetings and a message from America. We have been interested and grateful for them, and you have had an unusual hearing in our country. I should like now, if I may, to give you, as return, a message to your fellow-countrymen. Please tell them that if they would like to do something to make the relations between America and India relations of better understanding and warmer cordiality, they don't need to come out here to India to do anything at all, if only they will show more of the spirit of Jesus at home".

There was a moment of wounded pride, Gilkey, with his face flushed in a sense of wounded pride, then passed on to this single comment : " The barb in that message is that it was given by a liberal Hindu to a Christian minister, who had been sent out by the University of Chicago to interpret the Christian religion to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India". This is a pronouncement of great importance to the United States at this time. It means, baldly, that in spite of all pious make-believe by many eminent divines America is not Christian and that the people of India know it, too. It is a significant confession of failure.

Mr. Gilkey is not just an upstart hillbilly pulpit-pounder from the bible-belt of American hinterlands. He is a graduate of Harvard University, studied in Berlin, Edinburgh, and Oxford. He has served as university preacher at Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cor-

nell, Stanford, Chicago. And for over a decade he has been the pastor of the Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago. Gilkey has given a good deal of his life to converting and baptizing his countrymen. For him the important point is not, however, the discussion of miracles, infant damnation, or the bodily resurrection but the understanding of life and its responsibilities.

DOUBTS AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

American returned missionaries, as a rule, do India a deep wrong by picking out only its faults, and magnifying them a thousand fold. Apparently they consider themselves above moral obligation to be either intelligent or accurate. Gilkey, I am happy to note, is not the type of a preacher who strikes holier-than-thou attitude. He used his eyes to good advantage when he walked abroad in India. His tribute to educated Indians was well deserved. He was especially pleased with the new Muslim University at Aligarh, which he considered "in many ways the most interesting and prophetic institution we visited."

Since his return from Barrows lectures, Gilkey has been active in his efforts to put the better side of Indian civilization before America. He reports that the surest fact in contemporary history is the growth of self-respect in India. In spite of all appearances to the contrary, "the earth does move, none the less."

He never fails to put in a good word for our Indian students in the United States, who number about four hundred. At a recent convocation address at the University of Chicago, Mr. Gilkey told of some of the humiliating experiences of Indian students at

Chicago. An Indian went to several barber shops, and was refused at everyone. Not infrequently, local restaurants refused to serve Indians. He told of a young Indian woman, a Christian, who came to Chicago to prepare herself for medical mission in South India. She went to one of the restaurants, and was unceremoniously told to hustle out. Her complexion was dark. That was her unpardonable crime.

“Are we Americans really Christians or are the Oriental people Christians?” asked Reverend Gilkey “The Oriental race accepts Jesus and they practice his teachings, but they do not want the religion of the Westerners. We Americans must either back up our religious talk with action, or stop altogether. In the Orient a stranger is treated with respect and kindness, and they will go out of their way to do a favor, but how many of us treat these people as if they were human ! ”

In its dealings with the brown and the dark skinned people, America has never been able to overcome its congenital weakness — race prejudice. Even religion is here of little avail. “Religion in America, indeed”, observes a current American student of theological history, “has always been kept to a low, emotional, ignorant level — that is, to the level of simple magic.” American Christianity, in spite of its some good features, remains full of tom-tom evangelism and bull-roaring emotionalism.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ON YELLOW PERIL

Extraordinary men are few in the world ; but the friends of the Right Honorable William M. Hughes, recently Prime Minister of Australia, insist that he is extraordinary — tremendously extraordinary. Is he ?

As I stepped into his hotel room, he greeted me with a smile and shook me by the hand warmly. He was all cordiality. No sooner was I seated than he offered me a cigarette, and lighted it for me himself. A good cigar or cigarette, from the flare of the match to the reluctant puff, is thought to be a first aid to companionable intercourse, a stimulant to heart-to-heart talks.

Mr. Hughes is on a lecture tour of the United State. He is a dispenser of the British propaganda in general, and the Australian propaganda in particular. He is not the gloomy, sullen, silent diplomat of romance, who looks as mysterious as the Chinese chop suey. Hughes dearly loves to talk, and he talks with the air of confidence, the finality of the omniscient.

Mr. Hughes, who has been until recently a member of every labor government in Australia since 1904, is an example of stubborn ambition. He began his life as a backwoodsman : he has been sheep shearer,

a railroad laborer, a boundary rider, a brush cleaner, a fence builder, and a cattleman. Then he studied law, was admitted to the bar, became a politician, and a member of the Australian Parliament. Finally, circumstance conspired to make him the Premier. His career from 1901 until the close of the Great War was not lacking in thrills.

Mr. and Mrs. Hughes spoke to me of having met Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and his wife in Australia. The Hughes account of Sastri appeared however, very complimentary, running over with nice sugary phrases. Did Hughes and Sastri form a little mutual admiration society of their own? Neither of them are shrinking violets. They both like notice, power, huzzas.

Mrs. Hughes is a beautiful, graceful, rather intelligent woman. Presently she excused herself from the room.

Mr. Hughes is an impassioned advocate of the sacred dogma of "the white Australian policy," which is that Australia should bar all Asians from its doors and become exclusively a white man's land. "The policy of exclusion," said the ex-Premier, "rests upon just principles and is dictated by wisdom and is necessary for the economic well-being of the Commonwealth of Australia."

Now Australia, in its physical area, is as large as the United States, or twice as large as India. The first English settlement began in 1788, when England sent to New South Wales 565 male and 192 female prisoners condemned to transportation for life. Since

then England kept on sending shiploads of convicts, from time to time, for fifty years. This was beginning of the colonization of Australia, which started its career as a convict camp.

"The loneliest continent," even now, is comparatively an empty land. It has a little more than 5,000,000 inhabitants, five sixths of whom live in the south-eastern corner of the country. In other words, the whole of Australia has a smaller population than London. This vast area, according to its own official spokesman, could support 100,000,000 people most comfortably. Others, who are not natives of Australia, have ventured further. But what is being done to use and develop its resources? Only 16,000,000 acres — about one per cent of the whole area — are under crop. Climatic conditions are unsuitable to white settlements, nearly one-third of Australia being in the tropics. If Australia is to develop, and its vast resources are to be brought to the service of humanity, the one prime need of Australia is immigration, Asian or European. But "by the most generous calculation of increase," points out professor Gibbons in his *Introduction to World Politics*, "Europe, if she directed all her immigration towards these dominions, could scarcely fill their needs for a hundred years." Is one nation justified in withholding from use, for an indefinite period, a large area capable of supporting a large population? The fiat has gone forth that no Asian should land in Australia, which is to be held as an advance reservation for the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon tribe. If this is not an

exhibition of crude tribalism, of pure dog-in-the-manger selfishness, the words have lost their meaning.

Mr. Hughes explained to me that the admission of persons into Australia is regulated by the Immigration Act, 1901-1920. "It scrupulously avoids giving offense to the national pride of other nations. It is not directed against any particular country or people." It is a farce!

While the law does not specifically mention any race, color, or country, it excludes all but whites. This is accomplished by imposing a language test upon any applicant for admission to the country. The operating section of the statute empowers the immigration inspector to require the candidate for admittance to write correctly, from dictation, a passage of fifty words in any language. The language chosen for the dictation can always be the one with which the applicant is not familiar, Swedish, Jewish, Gaelic, or Russian. Obviously, any one can be excluded under such a test, and all Indians are excluded. "Though the law does not discriminate," comments *Indianapolis News*, "there is discrimination as the result of a dishonest application of it, and such discrimination is intended, though not avowed." It is a bare-faced trick, and how long does Australia expect to get away with such a fraud and deception?

Carrying on conversation with Mr. Hughes is not particularly pleasant. He is almost stone deaf. He cannot hear a word across the table without an ear-trumpet. For an interviewer it is the better part of strategy to let Mr. Hughes do most of the talking.

The former leader of the Australian Politics considers himself a Christian, a bearer of the "white man's burden." Naturally he finds nothing in the Sermon on the Mount which rejects army and navy, quantity production, stock markets, economic imperialism, and many other things which have come to the world as concomitants of higher Christianization. Not for him are visions of world-wide human brotherhood or efforts to realize the *City of God*. His philosophy, in so far as he may be said to have any, is the cultural philosophy of "go-getter-ism" and "make-all-the-world-as-thyself-ism."

"There are certain people who believe that to secure peace, there is nothing necessary except to wish for it," remarked ex-Premier Hughes. When you say that you want peace, if you really want it with all your heart and soul, you can have it to-morrow. And so can all the world. But is peace so great that you will sweep aside all your traditions and ideals for it? Is a nation willing to have its honor defiled, rather than to take up arms?"

"What is the world to hope for in attaining peace?" continued Hughes. "In order to secure peace, first, some tribunal for the settling of world disputes is absolutely necessary. Secondly, behind that tribunal, there must be some force, for a law is nothing unless there is some force behind it. The day has not come for universal peace."

That there is great value in conflict, he illustrated by the fact that it has been largely through wars that the United States has secured liberty. Beginning with

the War of Independence, the United States later progressed to the Civil War, and the Great War in the pursuit of liberty. "There are great causes for which nations should stand firmly." These are challenging remarks, which ought to interest our home-grown pacifists accustomed to theorize with their eyes and ears shut to historical truths.

Mr. Hughes mentioned the fact that the Pacific is fast becoming the commercial and economic centre of the world. Formerly the centre of the world's activity was about the Mediterranean, but with the increase of the world's population and the growth and prosperity of the Western world, this centre has shifted.

The ex-Premier did not warp his thought in ambiguous diplomatic words, but projected it in blunt, homely words, saying: "One of the greatest problems which concern the world at the present time is the increase in Asiatic population. It is a disease." Despite the fact that man has greatly improved his methods of food manufacture, the Eastern world is still clamoring for more room and more food. This is especially true in the case of India, China, and Japan. "The awakening of the East comes on one hand bringing gifts," was the nub of the matter, "and on the other hand, is something of a menace." Apparently the golden days of Aisan witchhunting are close at hand.

A thin smile creased his pale waxen face, and he leaned back in his chair. Mr. Hughes is small-statured, slender, smooth-faced, a little cynical and nervous, and on this afternoon a little the worse for

the interminable cigarettes.

I do not know exactly how old he is. I judge he is a man of fifty and upwards. His ideas about world politics are fixed absolutely. No one need take his valuable time to chloroform a man of this type; he is already petrified. To me he stands like a gravestone, lonely and forlorn.

Hon. W. M. Hughes is an imperialist to the core, and believes that the destiny of the human race depends exclusively upon the British. He does not wish to see either India or Australia pull out of the British empire. He wants a close federation of the constituent members of the empire. In his native land, he is hymned as the rally-round-the-Union Jack statesman.

"Well," I asked, when some of the preliminary fencings were over, "what do you say in explanation of the Indian exclusion?"

"I admit that India is an integral part of the empire," quickly responded Mr. Hughes without hem and haw. "India has in theory the same right to exclude Australians, as Australia has to exclude Indians. The right to exclude is unchallengeable. No right is more clearly inherent in a *free* nation than to determine who shall come into their own country. To deny that right would leave nothing of liberty but the shrivelled husk. It is the right of every *free* man to say who shall come into his home, and what is inherent in the free man must belong to the free nation. A partnership in the free British commonwealth does not involve the abrogation of the

birthright. "

The logical implication of the argument is abundantly clear; "The free British commonwealth" is one in which the non-whites outnumbering the whites by six to one must inevitably remain in perpetual subjection. Moreover, since India -- "the richest colonial plum" -- is not free, Indians have no right to shut their gates against the offending intruders. That right may come only when India finds its way to real independence. Does not the brain of the shining prodigy from Australia work in a circle?

"We, in Australia," observed Mr. Hughes solemnly, "are profoundly convinced that the East and West cannot meet and live together as one people. Our country is not only white, but ninety-seven per cent Anglo-Saxon. To water down the blood stream of our racial life is to invite irreparable disaster."

They may be of Anglo-Saxon descent in Australia; but the majority of them, it should not be forgotten, are the off-spring of early ex-convicts.

Hughes then lighted another of his cigarettes, and began to toy with the papers on the table before him.

"I am not quite so sure of that, Mr. Hughes. I rather think you are dead wrong," I put in quietly. "But will not a mutually exclusive policy knock the bottom out of the empire?"

The Australian political headliner winced. I noticed with amusement two patches of fiery red in his pale cheeks. The look he gave would paralyze a row of street lamp posts. Of course he smiled, but I

wondered if he realized that his smile was about as pleasant as a surgeon's operating table. At any rate, he looked as cheerful as a double funeral.

The Nestor of Australian politics had nothing to say except :

" I do not know that the future of the empire will be. I believe, however, that our policy of exclusion is not only best for us but is best for India, for the East and for the world. "

Can it be that the fairyland will come true for William Morris Hughes ? His kind of fairyland—a fairyland of far-flung whites and subjugated non-whites.

America has become of late a paradise of the European busybody, who have an ax to grind and an advantage to get. They all shed wash-tubful of crocodile tears for the United States. We have had recently a surfeit of British lecturers of this type, and the Hon. Mr. Hughes is just another English lecturer. I shall now drastically telescope the rest of my impressions about the diplomat from Melbourne and his talk.

The conversation then drifted on for a few moments to Japan. " We admire the Japanese people, " said Mr. Hughes naively. " We pay unstinted tribute to their wonderful achievements, to their industry, and their patriotism. But their ways are not our ways; traditions are as far from ours as the poles are asunder. They cannot work by our side without debasing our standard of living; they cannot intermarry with us

without destroying the virtues of our race. "

A wit once said of David Lloyd George: " I believe Mr. Lloyd George can read, but I am perfectly certain he never does. "

This remark occurs to me when I think about the Right Honorable Hughes. He knows how to read, but I am sure he has never read the first page of the cultural history of Asia. To argue with him on race problems is superfluous.

Mr. Hughes is also strongly in favor of a capital base at Singapore. It is considered a necessity for the defense of Australasia against Japan, the ominous symbol of Yellow Peril. " In my opinion a majority of the British people want a naval policy adequate to the needs and circumstances of the empire. "

As may be supposed, Mr. Hughes, an old imperial war - horse, is not losing any opportunity to exploit to the fullest advantages of the present strained relation between America and Japan. He is trying to capitalize ignorance, fear, and hatred. As a " live wire of new democracy, " he is reaching hundreds and thousands of Americans with his "great message". The idea that he is engaged in selling is that America should go to war with Japan, and wipe that country off the map. A jolly good idea. Obviously, nothing would please the unofficial " ambassador " from Australia more than to get the United States to fight the so - called Yellow Peril.

It is an astonishing situation — this Yellow Peril. It conjures up terrible pictures. I see Australia full

of panicstricken people. They scramble for fire escapes, jump out of windows, hide in drain pipes and chimneys ; others scuttle for the jungle. The Yellow Peril !

I think of the irony of the situation. I reflect on the worth of the " sense of white superiority. "

The Yellow Peril ? It does not exist ! The White Peril ? It is a reality ! Australia is an intrusion of European civilization into Asia.

It was time for me to go. I looked with a keen steady eye at the panic - stricken Australian celebrity. He shifted a little, and then removed his ear-trumpet. The imperial wizzard could hear and say no more.

CHAPTER XXXV

ANGLO - AMERICAN RELATIONS

Yesterday, which was October 23, was an important patriotic day in American history. It witnessed the 146th anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis to George Washington.

Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown with some hundreds of sailors and about 7,000 soldiers. "At two o'clock in the afternoon", says an American chronicle, "the British marched out between two lines, the French on the one side, the Americans on the other, the French in full dress uniform, the Americans in some cases half naked and barefoot. No civilian sightseers were admitted, and there was a respectful silence in the presence of this great humiliation to a proud army."

SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis was a terrible blow to the English. After Yorktown, both sides realized that the struggle must inevitably end with victory for Americans. The news of Yorktown caused a great commotion in England. How did the English Prime Minister, Lord North, take the news? "As he would have taken a ball in the breast", according to one of his cronies, "for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down

the apartment during a few minutes, ' O! God ! it is all over, ' words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest agitation and distress. "

The victory at Yorktown on October 23, 1781, made all Americans jubilant. They rang bells, fired cannon, built bonfires, and praised Washington.

Cornwallis, defeated and humiliated in America, escaped censure in England because of royal favor. Five years after his disgrace in America, Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General of India and was conducting his campaigns against Tippan Sultan, the great Indian leader in the final struggle against England in the eighteenth century.

The War of Independence was not the only war America fought against England. Uncle Sam waged another war against John Bull in 1812. England was at war with Napoleon, and ignored the rights of neutral states. The British seized American ships, and even impressed native Americans into the hard service of the British navy. American citizens were bitter toward England for these insults to their country.

The United States at that time had no army, and a weak navy. Its finances were low, and the sense of nationality had not developed to any great extent. When the war ended, the whole system of inefficiency was a thing of the past. " From that time to the present the nation has never gone back to the old state of unpreparedness," remarks the American historian John Spencer Bassett, " the army has been better organized, the navy has been respectable, and the national resources have been held in hand with a

reasonable sense of national needs. "

ARMED TRUCE

America is now a vigorous aggressive nation, some say the greatest nation on earth. Perhaps the British die hards, the Bourbons of Toryism, will not admit the claims of American superiority. I do not know. I am, however, vastly amused when I find some Americans or Englishmen spout the empty trash that war between the United States and England is "unthinkable. "

I would of course like to think that war between the two great English-speaking countries is unthinkable; but why did the last Geneva disarmament conference fail? Why was England suspicious and distrustful of America? There is plenty of proof that a large number of persons on either side of the Atlantic Ocean spend all their time and energy thinking about war, and many are planning for it. "The quibble over cruisers," tersely observed the outspoken and history-wise *New York Nation*, "is all the proof necessary that this is the case. Two countries with an honest desire to disarm and a determination never to go to war with each other do not spend their time worrying over how big are to be the battleships of either. "

To a realistic student of world politics it would seem that the present peace between America and England is a disguised war. "Why are they building naval and air bases along the Atlantic coast and in the Gulf of Mexico?" asked an editor of

mine the other day. " Why do the British fortify Jamaica and Honduras which are in the back of Uncle Sam, or the Americans fortify Panama, Cuba, Haiti Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands ? Why are their merchants, and bankers cutting each other's throats ? "

Perhaps some shrewd phrase-peddlers such as Woodrow Wilson could answer these questions satisfactorily; but I cannot. For all I know the seeds of a new Armageddon are being sown. We may be called upon again to battle for the Lord, to go forth to another War to end War. Who knows ? .

There is on the surface a great deal of protestation of Anglo American friendship. When a distinguished American citizen visits London, he is usually welcomed at a banquet where glib-tongued orators talk of " blood is thicker than water, " " hands across the sea, " and other over-worked blah and buncombe. Americans on this side of the water do not, however, forget this important fact: when it comes to business matters, John Bull is John Bull; he is strictly business. He is not going to let a shilling's worth of trade get away from him, if he can help it. And he has any number of ways of knocking the props from under American business. What are my evidences ? They are furnished in the following editorial, published in a newspaper not a hundred miles from where I am now writing:

" There is one brand of American soluble coffee that can't get into England. The customs house maneuvers it. The same thing is true of a popular brand of American cigars. Oregon apples used to dominate the British market, being

sold as cheap or cheaper than British. But there was a desire that the people should eat English, Canadian and Australian apples. All of a sudden it was claimed in the British press that American fruit farmers sprinkled their apples with arsenic to keep insects off. The scare also kept customers off.

"the same kind of propaganda is worked as to the drama and the films. American plays have been dominating the British stage. Therefore, almost as if by order, most of the critics have knocked very nearly every American play that has opened there in the past month or so. And the movies! They are pressing through Parliament a bill which compells every movie house to show a certain fixed quota of British-made films."

BATTLE OF PROPAGANDISTS

The one outstanding fact in world politics today is that America is the greatest commercial rival of England. The community of race and language have not proved sufficient as cement and motive power for the union of English-speaking peoples. In the nineteenth century, Europe and America went to England to learn of machinery and its uses. Now the world, England included, comes to America not only for technical knowledge but also for money, which furnishes the sinews of trade and commerce. The methods which made England a great industrial power a century ago are now outworn. The gold, which made London once the money capital of the world, is now in New York. In other words, America and England are now competing with each other for commercial and political supremacy. And that is perhaps why Dean Inge, of St. Paul's Cathedral, boldly urged the nations of Europe "to combine to draw Uncle

Shylock's teeth. "

It is not denied that there is an element of American population which still regards the United States only as a colony of England. Suffering from an inferiority complex, these hyphenated Americans like to kow-tow and fawn at the feet of England. They seek the soft recognition of the English society, and wage social campaigns to wed their daughters to seedy English Aristocrats with walrus mustaches. And yet bickerings between the two nations continue to the delight of the whole world.

The Bishop of London in a sermon to visiting American Legionnaires (the veterans of the Great War) complained that the Legionnaires were asked to oppose this kind of teaching. The Mayor of Chicago, Mr. Will Hale Thompson, at once sent a cablegram to the London *Daily Express* saying that he knew nothing of an effort to make American school children hate England. It was just the other way about. He had known of the pro-British propaganda throughout this nation to make the American school children hate the American patriots who gave this country its freedom.

"In Chicago public schools," remarked Mayor Thompson, "through the board of education appointed by myself, we have removed from office the Superintendent of Schools who took George Washington's picture out of the American histories, the picture of the "Spirit of 1776" from the school room walls, and prevented Chicago's school children from collecting small sums of money as approved by the

President of the United States for the purpose of preserving the flagship Constitution of the United States navy. It is my opinion that the bishop of London will have no complaint about the conduct of the American schools if the British ruling class will stop meddling with the internal affairs of other nations. "

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

The English are born propagandists. Compared with them, the Indians are mere babes in the wood. Cecil Rhodes, who created the famous Rhodes' scholarships, was one of the most astute propagandists of his time. Mitchell in his biography of Rhodes says that the South - African diamond king in creating the trust for Americans at Oxford entertained the hopes that the American Rhodes scholars might bring the United States back under the British crown ! Cecil Rhodes' will had sought to create a society toward the extension of British rule throughout the world, and especially to make America an integral part of the empire. The sharp business practices of this gentleman are quite forgotten by most Britanicos. Cecil is remembered in Britain only as an ardent " altruist " and a wily empire builder.

The English are past masters in the arts and intrigues of propaganda. When they cannot use shot and shell, they pour a rain of propaganda. It is recalled in America that Lord Northcliffe, who was the Mahdi of British imperialism, addressing the English Speaking Union in London, made this statement :

" We must subsidize the best American writers, speakers and editors, so that from books, from the rostrum

the American mind will very soon absorb it all, and have the British view clearly before them. „We must distribute the books free if necessary. ”

ANGLOMANIACS

Ten years have passed since the final curtain was rung down on the bloodiest drama of all times. The Anglomania, which was official during the years of the devil, 1914 to 1918, has gradually found its way into the school books. Anglo-American professors have written American histories in recent years which are full of lying propaganda. They say that „the United States Continental Congress during the Revolutionary times was a group of quarrelsome pettifogging lawyers and mechanics. ” George Washington is termed by a Professor of Columbia University as a dictator, a tyrant, and is described in his book the „Stepfather of his country. ” Facts are repeatedly distorted in these propaganda-tainted histories to make it appear that there was no justification for the War of Independence, and that it was a wanton, causeless butchery. Americans of today who look up to their Founding Fathers as wise and patriotic men are—in the estimation of these so-called new historians downright boobs, crooks and yokels.

Hon. F. Bausman, former Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, in an article in the current *American Mercury* magazine charges England for carrying on an insidious propaganda in the United States. This article of Justice Bausman, which has been widely commented upon by the American press, observes :

“ In her relations with our country, Britain, it is plain, must accomplish several things. First, she must keep our navy inferior to hers. Second, she must own the bulk of the raw materials of the earth. Third, she must have the greatest merchant marine in the world, both for the profits of its business and for its use as an auxiliary navy in time of war. The three foregoing spring from maxims of ancient policy, and to them must be added a new, immediate cause of intrigue ; her necessity to shake off what she borrowed from us to conduct a war, which money, it is now plain, was not so much necessary to her existence as it was to her world domination. ”

Justice Bausman is convinced that there are at present numerous British propapandists in the United States who are carrying on pro - British and anti - American propaganda. Their purpose, according to him, is to conquer America not by armed force but by controlling its public opinion. He therefore asks the British propagandists to “ keep their snouts out ” of the affairs of the United States. Does that sound like Anglo - American friendship ?

CHAPTER XXXVI

UNCLE SAM TO JOHN BULL

The English are right. They cannot be understood by a foreigner. I have, however, found them to be far from being reserved, as is frequently alleged. Judging by the men and women I have met in hotels, streets, 'tubes', parks, and other public places, the English are among the most talkative people of the world. Indeed the trouble is not that they are too reserved, but they are too talkative. "Subscribers", the London telephone directory finds it necessary to warn its patrons, "should not engage the telephonists in long conversation."

As a conversationalist, the Englishman is earnest and fluent, though not always convincing. It is, however, difficult to understand him at times. His accents are so peculiar, and his habit of slurring over certain letters is so common, that a newly arrived American is not always sure as to what the Englishman is talking about. A cigar store in London, which is located in Oxford Street, has put up the following sign: "AMERICAN IS SPOKEN HERE."

The English are not very much of a newspaper reading public. With many of them, the newspaper is a luxury and not a necessity. During the Christmas holidays the whole Fleet Street went to sleep for three

days. England, the controller of the destinies of nearly one half of the human race, had no newspaper for practically four days. The British people, in spite of such fine press bandits as Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, had to depend for four long days on gossip and rumor for their news. What a medieval life the British have still to live !

Contrary to the prevailing notion in India the natives of England are not all haughty and arrogant. Your average Englishman does try to be polite. Instances of his politeness are to be found frequently. How courteous is the conductor of the London bus ! You give him three and half pence pronounced ' thru pence hefnie ' and he says : " Thank you, sir. " He hands you the ticket and again he says : " Thank you sir. " There seems to be no reason why he should say, " Thank you, sir, " but it is rather pleasant to have him say that.

No doubt some of this politeness is formal, artificial. I heard a man disagreeing with a lecturer at a Hyde Park meeting exclaim, " It is a damned lie, sir. " I also heard a London cab driver near Russell Square scold his horse, " Move on, please. "

Inconsistency is a prominent trait of the English character. At Oxford and Cambridge Universities there are many regulations which appear to me a bit puzzling. One of their rules is that they must not frequent public houses. Does this mean that they are expected to be teetotallers ? Not at all ! Students can not only have as much liquor shipped into their rooms as their pocket-books will allow, but even in

the college dining halls, presided over by professors and tutors, they can drink to their heart's content anything they like.

Another instance of inconsistency. While I was being entertained at a luncheon by one of the Masters at Eton College, I was told of the democratic ways of the young Prince Henry, son of King George. This young man on entering Eton was asked to sign his name in official books. Without a moment's hesitation Prince Henry shed his royalty and wrote over the dotted lines, "P. Henry." As an inmate of one of the College houses, he was required to "fag." The fagging consisted in running such errands as mailing letters, carrying trousers to the tailor for pressing, or taking shoes to the cobbler for repair. So far, so good.

Now, at Cambridge I came upon a situation which appeared to me very undemocratic. There degrees are still withheld from successful women students. They are members of the Cambridge university in the very real sense of the terms; but it simply ignores their academic existence. I was informed by several professors and students that the object of such a policy is to discourage women from entering Cambridge. To us who have been brought up under the more liberal co-educational American system, the Cambridge plan of excluding women just because they are women seems to be very illiberal and undemocratic.

It is true that there is no iron-clad caste system in England; but marked cleavages of social distinction

do exist. Class distinctions are deeply imbedded into the English consciousness. Indeed, an Englishman seems to be as incapable of getting along without his social labels as a South Sea islander without his tatoos. Then, too, the English are very particular about the right tag on the right person. "Who are some of the most important gentlemen in this place?" I asked my landlord in one of the southern English villages I happened to be in. "No gentry here, sir," he replied with a solemn shrug of his shoulder. "The rector might have been a gentry, but he is not. His wife, sir, was a nurse."

After such experiences one is tempted to say that the only word which describes what the English people call their democracy is humbug, and no word is perhaps more flourishing in England than humbug.

It was while I was in England that a fight -- real picturesque hand-to-hand fight -- took place one afternoon on the floor of the House of Commons. It was reported to be the biggest and best melee ever staged in the English Parliament. Indeed the affair became so interesting and so lively and so hot that the Speaker had actually to suspend the session for a time. Imagine what an inspiring spectacle it was when the honorable members after the manner of "the charge of the light brigade", rushed forward and proceeded to knock one another's teeth out, while their coat-tails kept flopping in the air and their shiny plug hats chased all over the floor! Torn papers flew around. Tables and chairs and inkpots hurled about. Bang! -- Clang! -- Dang! It was a grand old scrap for the

enlightenment of the world; but, oh, it is such an ungrateful world ! One of the poignant regrets of my life is now that I missed this fine show. I would gladly have given half a rupee to see it.

From interviews with scores and scores of public men in and out of Parliament I do not hesitate to say that democracy or no democracy, Englishman almost without an exception is an imperialist at heart. The world and the fullness thereof belong to the Englishman and to him alone. Don't mistake about that. He is the best man alive. His government and institutions are the finest. He must extend the boundaries of the empire. He must rule the waves. He is not the person to have much compunction in claiming other people's property as his own. "I must first visit *my* Indian possession," said a little girl of seven when asked by a friend of mine what she would do when she grew up. Imperialism is in the very blood of the Englisher. You can no more make an internationalist out of him than you can make black white.*

This leads me to say a word about the Indian propaganda in England. From an attentive study of the subject I am convinced of the futility of trying to win English sympathy for the Indian cause. The British people take little interest in affairs of India, and much less in her political emancipation. Indian political meetings in London, meetings which are usually described in papers at home as "crowded up to the doors," as a "huge success," are meetings which are often attended only by Indians and a handful of English people. They are already convinced,

or are beyond conversion and redemption.

In any case, even when the Indian meetings are "largely attended" by the British, they are almost sure to be socialists, laborites, and other radical elements. The rank and file of the British voters, as a rule, keep aloof from such gatherings. Not long ago two meetings were arranged for Indian delegates, — one at Manchester and another at Liverpool. How many were there at these meetings? There were 89 people at the Manchester meeting, and 29 at the Liverpool. Again a meeting was called at Bristol. The expenses of the meeting ran to eighty pounds and the audience numbered by actual count 79, mostly pink laborites, a class of radicals who are already with India. Of what earthly benefit is it to convert the converted? Besides, is it not too much to spend a pound for each man that comes to the meeting?

In some of the localities the British people go so far as to prevent, by hook or crook, an expression of Indian opinion. At the time I was in Glasgow I came to know that the Indian colony in that city, time and again, found it hard to rent a room to hold public meetings. Even such a "non-denominational" institution as the Glasgow Y. M. C. A. positively refused the use of its halls for a fair price to hold a memorial meeting in honour of the Lokamanya Tilak. And the Indian people in Glasgow had to go without a meeting for want of room.

Compare this attitude of the Britishers to India with that of the Americans to the Philippines. In

1918 the Philippine legislature decided to send a delegation to the United States asking for complete independence. The delegation was brought over to America in a special United States gun-bomb. And when the members of the delegation reached Washington, the Congress met in a joint session to listen to their plans for full self-government. Nor was this all. Public meetings were held up and down the continent, and every facility was afforded to present the Philippine question from the Philippine point of view.

It came to me as a cruel surprise that some of the British universities had become poison-factories of anti-Indian sentiments. A few of them were openly and deliberately discourteous to students from Hindustan. When I visited Scotland, my attention was called to the fact that a well-known Scotch university had gone so far as to actually discourage Indian students from going there.

"You keep away from our university," bellowed a veal-faced bristly-bearded old professor.

"All right, we will," retorted a quick-witted young Indian, "just as soon as you Scotch and English and Wales clear out of India."

Although this whole business of sending Indian students to England, instead of to France, Germany or America, has appeared to me as somewhat of a tragedy, I must say that the majority of the Indian youths I came across in the British Isles are of sturdy manhood. They are to be reckoned among the most forward-looking, up-standing sons. It is my

confident belief that in the near future many of these men will take the center of the stage in Hindustan.

Arnold Bennett in his book, *Our Women*, blandly asserts that "intellectually and creatively man is the superior of woman." Is that so? I wonder if an American man of letters of the front rank could be guilty of such a masculine vanity. But perhaps Englishmen have ample reason to be dissatisfied with their women. As I went along Piccadilly, up Regent Street, and along Kingsway, I was impressed by the fact that in comparison with American women, very few of the English women were well-dressed. They lacked something in the way of exquisite taste in dress. The general impression forced on my reluctant mind was that of dowdiness.

Slovenliness in dress is not, however, confined to women alone. At Cambridge I saw a noted professor appear before a class in a seedy patched-up coat.

To return to English women. Arnold Bennett is by no means the only man in England who says that women are men's inferior. Moreover, there are English laws in the statute books which say practically the same thing. Even to this day, according to the English law, it is much safer to beat one's wife than to kill preserved game. A man may show outward deference, or even argue with you if you suggested that his wife is not his equal, yet he has at heart one law for himself and another for the wife. As an instance of this, look at the English divorce laws, which are nothing if not one-sided. It is difficult to see how they can fail to encourage immorality.

Here are some of the actual facts of the English matrimonial law as presented in a recent issue of the *London Illustrated Sunday Herald* by Gilbert Frankau, a gifted writer and a man of the world:

"A man may live with another woman from Monday till Saturday. Provided he returns to his wife on Sunday, she cannot divorce him. Her only remedy is a "legal separation." And a legal separation means that she has no right to marry.

"A man or woman may be a confirmed, a testified lunatic, a reprieved murderer doing twenty years in the gaol. That man or woman's legal mate has no redress whatever under the law.

"A man may beat his wife black and blue every night; may torture her mentally, morally and physically. Provided he has not proved "unfaithful," his wife cannot claim a divorce."

After all is said and done, the English husbands at home have about the manners of a grizzly bear; but outside they may pose as a parody on the rules of etiquette.

When the Pilgrim Fathers landed in America early in the seventeenth century, it is said that they had no end of troubles with the Red Indians. So to this day a common saying in America is that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." When I landed in England one of the first persons I called upon was Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. "The soul of England," she told me with a touch of sadness in her eyes, "is in Westminster Abbey!" I wonder what she had in her mind.

England's heart - if it has any - must be in cold

storage. I am forced to distrust its sham "fair play." One cold morning I noticed a poor old woman digging into a garbage can in front of our hotel, and hungrily picking up scraps of discarded food. The sight was too much for me. I went and gave her a little money. When the hotel residents discovered what I had done, they had little but ill-concealed scorn for me. "These beggars are all wretches. They should never be helped," was their gratuitous advice.

Ye land-grabbers and bible-mongers !

A few days later I "folded my tent" and started for a trip to the continent. As I was leaving my hotel, the proprietor asked :

"What do you think of our country now ?"

No answer

"What is your general impression of England ?" he repeated.

"Oh, it isn't so bad."

I seized my hat and coat, and turned to go. He followed me to the door, and as my taxi started for the Victoria Station, I heard him plead :

"If you ever come to England again, if you ever come back....."

"If I come back ! Oh, indeed, if I come back..."

